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SOCIETY, POLITICS
AND DIPLOMACY



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SOCIETY, POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY

1820—1864

PASSAGES FROM THE JOURNAL
OF FRANCIS W. H. CAVENDISH

WITH FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS

T. FISHER UNWIN
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PREFACE

THE problem of the selection of a life-career faced Mr. Francis Cavendish in that early Victorian period when practically the only fields of activity open to a younger son were the Army, the Navy, and the Diplomatic Service. Had the choice rested with him, he would most certainly have elected to seek "the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth," for the bent of his inclination was ever towards soldiering. But family reasons did not allow him at first to enter upon any of those walks of life, and until he went into the Foreign Office in 1846 he pursued the unsatisfactory calling of "a young man about London," varying it occasionally by travelling on the Continent. So little to his taste became the treadmill of Society, that he made at least two bold bids to exchange it for a soldier's life, at one time trying to enlist in the cavalry regiment quartered at Hounslow, and at another endeavouring to get a commission in Prince Esterhazy's regiment of Hungarian hussars. In London he was a well-known figure for five-and-twenty years, until a severe accident compelled him to quit the Foreign

Office and, being unable to endure the noise and bustle of the town, to retire to quieter scenes of life.

Some little time before his death, in 1893, he began to write his recollections, but not till last year were his papers examined. It then became evident that, although he kept a journal nearly all his life, Mr. Cavendish omitted from it much that was within his knowledge, and also that various interesting letters and documents to which he refers have vanished. In preparing his reminiscences it is obvious he had taken from his journal the groundwork of many incidents with the intention of filling in later, at his leisure, details of light and shade drawn from the numerous memories stored in his retentive brain, but unfortunately the end came suddenly before he could complete his work. However, he recorded much, and the task of selection has not been on the whole an easy one.

The editor can bear witness that Mr. Cavendish possessed a vast fund of anecdote of all kinds, and would give much to be able to recall a tithe of the many and various tales of society, politics, and diplomacy with which he was wont to regale his family and friends.

During the seventeen years Mr. Cavendish served in the Foreign Office he was, from 1853 to 1857, Précis Writer to Lord John (afterwards Earl) Russell and Lord Clarendon, and acted frequently as their private secretary. When one considers the nature of negotiations during those years, and realizes how many of their delicate

threads must have passed through his hands, it is somewhat disappointing to find amongst his papers a remarkable absence of diplomatic secrets. He once gave to Lord Malmesbury the definition of a Foreign Office clerk as being "considered a gentleman, and therefore fit to be entrusted with any confidential correspondence"; and true to this, he did not confide, even to his private diary, much of the knowledge he acquired of the secret springs and wires which set in motion and controlled the actions of the diplomatic world.

A constant visitor to Paris, he was acquainted with French politicians of very varying shades of opinion, and in both the Royalist and Napoleonic camps he had friends and correspondents well informed as to the *dessous les cartes* of many of the domestic intrigues attending the birth of the Second Empire.

In home politics he took a keen interest, and was essentially a Whig, despising retrograde Tories and hating extreme Radicals; hence in later life he became a Liberal Unionist.

In Mr. Cavendish's day, before the "beer-age," the "money-age," and other "ages" came to swell it to its present unwieldy proportions, "society" was small and exclusive, and as he was in one way or another related to or connected with nearly every one whom it then comprised, scarcely any scandal of those times could have been unknown to him. Yet he by no means made of his journal a *chronique scandaleuse*, notwithstanding that in it at intervals one comes across a tale or two of human failings.

No apology is offered for the somewhat curious literary style of the passages, which have been extracted for publication. The entries in his journal were not written by Mr. Cavendish for the public eye, and he was not afforded the time to put them into the shape he himself would have liked them to assume. I therefore prefer to leave them for the most part in the form in which he wrote them down as events occurred, though here and there I have condensed. I nevertheless trust these memories of the period 1820 to 1864, will not be found by readers to be wholly devoid of interest or amusement.

THE EDITOR.

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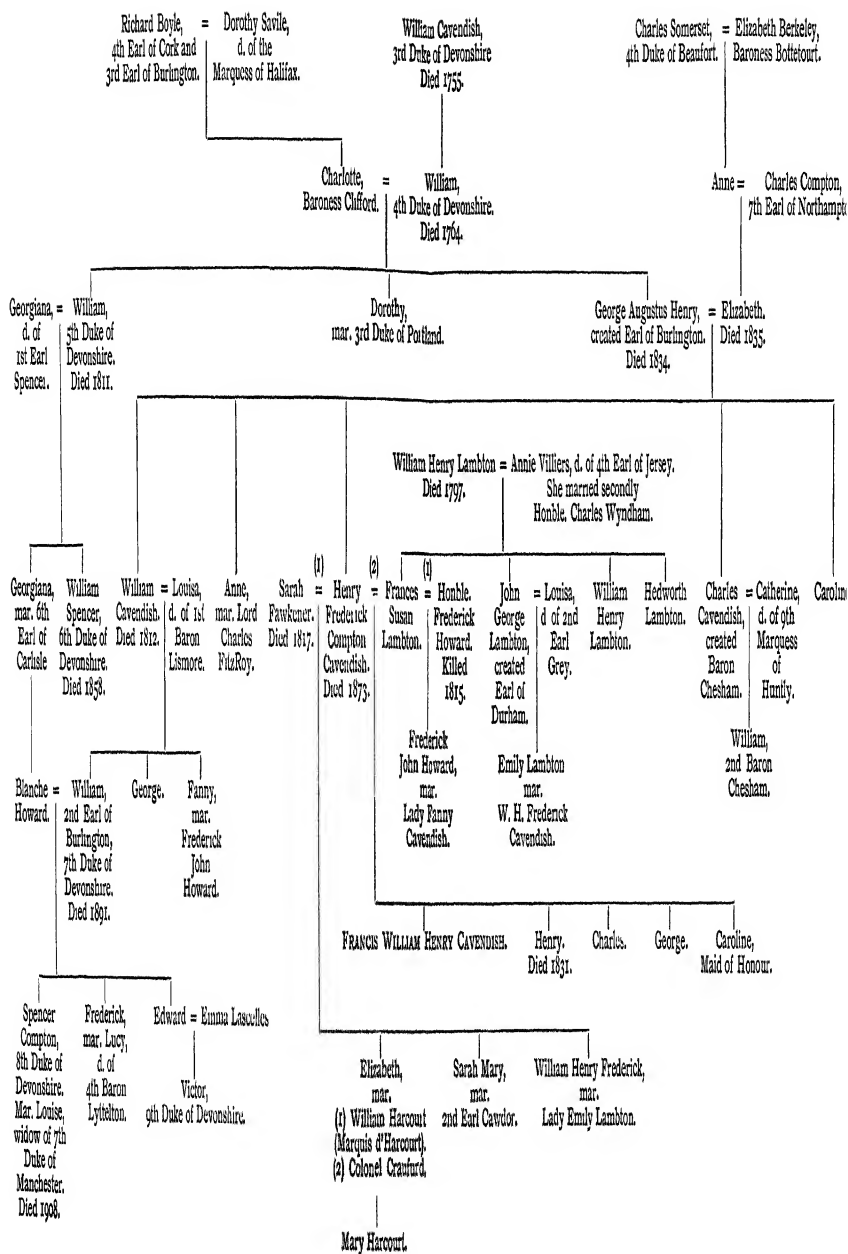
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SOCIETY, POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY

CHAPTER I

1820-1841

My early life—Funeral of Queen Caroline—A winter in Florence—Belgium becomes a kingdom—The British Legion in Spain—Accession of Queen Victoria—My introduction to the Queen—The Great Frost—The Canadian Rebellion—The Duke of Wellington and Marshal Soult—The Jamaica trouble—Gaieties at Windsor Castle—Penny Postage—The Queen's marriage—Quaint letters between two Society Dames—Murder of Lord William Russell—The Syrian War—Regimental troubles of Lord Cardigan—Genoa—Florence—Venice—Lord Ranelagh's duel—Farewell to Mlle Taglioni at Milan—Switzerland

1820

I WAS born on February 6th, 1820, in the parish of Chiswick, Middlesex, at Sutton Court House, which my father for many years rented from his first cousin, the 6th Duke of Devonshire, whose beautiful place it adjoined. For some reason unknown to me I was not made a Christian by baptism until July 15, 1821.

My grandfather, Lord George Cavendish, second son of 4th Duke of Devonshire, and my father, Major Henry Cavendish, 9th Lancers, were again elected to represent the county and borough of Derby respectively in King George IV's first Parliament, which he opened on April 27th.

H.R.H. the Duchess of York, having died at Oatlands after a long and painful illness, was buried in Weybridge Church on August 14th. She used to keep numerous pet dogs, and many years later, when staying in her house, which had then been turned into the Oatlands Park Hotel, I saw in the garden the graves of a number of those pampered animals.

1821

My father began his military life in the 10th Hussars, and while aide-de-camp to Lord William Bentinck, who commanded a brigade under Sir John Moore, was wounded at the Battle of Corunna, January 16, 1809. A piece of a projectile which he there received in the wrist was never extracted. He afterwards exchanged into the 9th Lancers, and in July, at a very heavy cost, he purchased into the 1st Life Guards, getting the army rank of lieutenant-colonel. Although he was not gazetted to his new regiment until August 3rd, yet he was ordered to do duty with it at the coronation of George IV on July 19th. The tailors, Messrs. Meyer, of Conduit Street, had a frantic struggle to get my father's new uniform made in time for the ceremony, and even then the

ornamental shoulder-straps were not finished, so he had to wear straps of the 2nd Life Guards, which caused his men to wonder why they were being commanded by an officer of that regiment.

My father commanded the Life Guards, escorting the King on his progress to Carlton House after the banquet in Westminster Hall, and he had strict orders to keep close to the window of the Royal carriage, as there was some fear of an assault by the mob on account of the unpopularity of His Majesty, through his treatment of Queen Caroline, who had tried to force her way into Westminster Hall, but had not been permitted to enter.

Her Majesty came back to England to assert her rights and to vindicate her character on June 5, 1820, but a Bill of Pains and Penalties was soon after brought in against her in the House of Lords, and her trial lasted from August 17th to November 10, 1820, when the Government abandoned it. The Queen resided at Brandenburg House, and died there on August 7, 1821. Her funeral procession on August 14th had been ordered to go from Hammersmith through Kensington and Bayswater (so that it might not enter the City, where she had many sympathizers) on its way to Romford and Harwich, where the body was to be embarked for conveyance to Brunswick. The populace, however, being determined the cortège should pass through the City, became so turbulent that the route was changed to Knightsbridge, Hyde Park Corner, and the Park to Cumberland Gate, where a desperate conflict ensued (the mob

being headed by Major-General Sir Robert Wilson), and eventually the corpse had to be taken through the City. The 1st Life Guards fired on the rioters, killing two men, and a coroner's jury subsequently brought in a verdict of wilful murder against one of the soldiers.

For this escapade Sir Robert Wilson was removed from the Army on September 17th, although he was a most distinguished soldier, who had been our Military Commissioner with the Russian Army in the campaign of 1812. He had, however, incurred the Royal displeasure by a previous exploit, in having aided Count Lavalette to escape from his Paris prison in December, 1815, for which, in April, 1816, Wilson was sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Sir Robert's rank was restored to him in 1825, and after being for some years Governor of Gibraltar he returned to England, where he died in 1849. He was a great friend of my father's, so I often met him; and I also knew his daughter and his son Belford, who was in the Diplomatic Service.

The King went to Ireland on July 31st and stayed in Dublin until September 5th.

1824

The King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands arrived in London on May 20th, and my father's friend "Poodle" Byng (fifth son of 5th Viscount Torrington) was placed in attendance on them during their stay, which terminated, in July, by

their deaths, within a few days of one another, from measles and inflammation of the lungs. Their bodies were embalmed and conveyed back to the South Seas for interment.

With my parents, eldest sister, and two brothers, I went in October on visits to Chatsworth, Castle Howard, and Lambton Castle.

[Evidently we did not make a good impression upon the 2nd Earl Grey, who was then at Lambton for the races, for I notice in his correspondence with Princess Lieven he writes to her about Ladies Londonderry and Wilton, and goes on to say "the rest of the party, with the exception of Lady Normanby, were either persons who had nothing very interesting about them or jockeys."—1890.]

1825

Early this year my family moved from Queen Street, Mayfair, to 34, Old Burlington Street, which, purchased by my grandfather from the 7th Lord Reay, became subsequently my father's property.

1826

I had been taken several times to see Cross's Menagerie at the Exeter Exchange (now Exeter Hall), in the Strand, and had made acquaintance with the big elephant, which some months ago killed one of its keepers. On March 1st it became unmanageable, and made desperate efforts to break out of its cage. Mr. Cross therefore called

in the assistance of the Guards on duty at the Royal Academy (then in Somerset House), and these fired at the poor animal for an hour, while it made furious efforts to get at them. Altogether 185 musket-balls were fired at it before at length it fell to the ground dead.

On April 25th the Duke of Devonshire was appointed Ambassador to St. Petersburg for the coronation of the Emperor of Russia, which took place at Moscow on September 3rd. Amongst his suite the Duke took my cousin, William Cavendish (afterwards 7th Duke), and he did things in Russia in most splendid and lavish style. [He paid £3,000 for his State coach, which he brought back to England and afterwards sold to M. von Strogonof, the Russian Ambassador, for £1,600 for Queen Victoria's coronation.]

1827

H.R.H. the Duke of York and Albany, heir-presumptive to the Throne, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, having died on January 5th, was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 20th. Together with my mother, sisters and brothers, I saw the procession pass Dr. Graham's house near Turnham Green on its way from St. James's Palace. Lord Hill (1st Baron)¹ succeeded to the command of the Army. H.R.H. was not very moral nor a great soldier, but he was a first-class organizer in the office and the Army owes a great deal to the reforms he initiated.

¹ Created Viscount Hill 1842, and died the same year.

In June Lord William Bentinck (second son of 3rd Duke of Portland) was appointed Governor-General of India, a post he held for seven years. Being my cousin and godfather, he had given me a pony, which, not suiting me, was sold to the village blacksmith, and at the first Christmas pantomime which I attended I saw Grimaldi, the clown, driving it on the stage.

The talk and excitement which there was over the Battle of Navarino, fought on October 20th, when the combined fleets of England, France, and Russia, under Admiral Codrington, almost annihilated those of Turkey and Egypt, made a deep and lasting impression upon my childish mind. For several years the Greeks had been in a state of insurrection against Turkish misrule, and the most horrible atrocities had been committed on both sides. At length, in July, 1827, a treaty was signed in London, by England, France, and Russia, to effect the pacification of Greece. The Turks paid no attention to this, but called in the Egyptian fleet and troops for the coercion of the Greeks, and the naval battle begun by the Mohammedan forces was the result. Turkey then submitted to all the demands of the Christian Allies, the Egyptian forces were sent home, and the independence of Greece was assured. [Turkey was so angry at the action of Russia that in the following spring she sent a large army against her. The Turks were heavily defeated and forced to agree to the Treaty of Adrianople, September 14, 1829.]

January 17th.—My uncle, Mr. John George Lambton, was to-day made a Peer with the title of Baron Durham.

I well remember watching the course of the improvements made this year at Hyde Park Corner, when the present triple carriage entrance and the arch at the top of Constitution Hill, after the designs of Mr. Decimus Burton, were erected. Hitherto there had been a turnpike gate at the top of the hill between St. George's Hospital and the Park railings, and I recollect seeing its removal, after which certain classes of traffic were allowed into the Park.

Early this autumn my father took a large family party to the Continent, consisting of my mother, my two half-sisters and sister, my three younger brothers, and myself. My half-brothers, Frederick Cavendish and Frederick Howard, were left in England with their respective uncles, Mr. Charles Cavendish and Lord Durham. Possibly here a few explanatory family details may be useful. My mother was the only daughter of Mr. Lambton, of Lambton Castle, and she first married the Honourable Frederick Howard¹ (the "Young gallant Howard" in "Childe Harold"), a major in the 10th Hussars, who was killed at Waterloo, and she had two sons. In 1819 she married my father, who was a widower with one boy and two little girls. [In after-years my Cavendish half-brother married my cousin, Lady Emily Lambton, daughter of 1st Earl of Durham, and my Howard half-brother

¹ Third son of 5th Earl of Carlisle.



LADY ANNE BARBARA FRANCES VILLIERS.

2nd daughter of the 4th Earl of Jersey.

Born 1772.

Died 1832.

Married 1st 1791 WILLIAM HENRY LAMTON, Esquire, of
Lambton Castle, who died Nov 30, 1797.

2nd . Hon. CHARLES WINDHAM, 3rd son of 2nd
Earl of Eglington.

The 4 children in the picture are -

1. WILLIAM HENRY LAMTON, Born 1793.
2. JOHN GEORGE LAMTON, Born 1792. 1st Earl of
Durham, Governor-General of Canada. (Boy
with sword)
3. FRANCES SUSAN LAMTON, Born 1795.
Married 1st 1813 Major Hon. HENRY FREDERICK
HOWARD. Killed at Waterloo
2nd 1819 General Hon HENRY FREDERICK
COMPTON CAVENDISH.
4. HEDWORTH LAMTON, Born 1797. (Boy with shoe.)

After Hoppner.

married my cousin, Lady Fanny Cavendish, sister of the 7th Duke of Devonshire.]

In addition to the family, we comprised a French governess, two ladies' maids, a French valet, a footman, and our coachman, who had been for many years in my father's service, and whose duty it was to look after the three carriages, namely, a coach, a barouche, and a fourgon for the luggage. Moreover, we had an Italian courier named Santi, whose business it was to ride ahead to order post-horses and secure rooms at the hotels.

When we started from Calais the novel sight of the postilions in their black oilskin hats, ornamental jackets, white breeches, and heavy boots, as also of the harness with long cord traces, delighted our young eyes.

By way of Aix la Chapelle, Coblenz, Mayence, Bingen, Baden Baden, Lake Constance, Landau, and Feldkirch we at length reached the Alps, and the ascent of the Via Mala to the Splugen Pass filled me with alarm at the depths we overhung. We had crossed the Rhine the day before by a bridge which had a wooden roof, too low to admit the fourgon with its top-load. My sister Sarah Mary was standing up in the barouche, looking at the boxes being taken off, when the vehicle suddenly moved forward, and she fell out, her side being badly injured by the hind wheel, which caused her a serious illness, detaining us at Florence for more than six months.

We journeyed on by the Lake of Como, Milan, Verona, and Padua to Fusina, where we embarked

with our luggage in large boats which took us to Danieli's hotel on the Grand Canal at Venice. Between Padua and Fusina the three horses in the fourgon shied, bolted, and ran against a railing, throwing our footman into the river which ran alongside the road, but he escaped with nothing worse than a cold bath. We left our carriages at Fusina in charge of our coachman to await our return, but in a few days he turned up at our hotel, saying he could not remain any longer at a place where he had no one to talk to and nothing to eat, for the inn-people offered him nothing but fish cooked in oil and garlic.

After gathering lasting impressions of the peculiar beauties of Venice, we picked up our carriages at Fusina and crossed the Apennines to Florence, where we arrived early in November. Here we stayed until the end of June, when we started to return to England.

There were many English families spending the winter in Florence, so we had plenty of society.

I there made my first appearance in private theatricals, and amongst the performers was Charles Matthews, the actor, who was then studying architecture in Italy.

1829

One day in February I went with my mother to see Lady William Russell and her new-born baby, who, as Odo Russell, afterwards worked with me in the Foreign Office and eventually blossomed

forth into being our ambassador in Berlin and Lord Ampthill.

With the spring there came for me a pony, and I used to ride nearly every morning in the Cascine Gardens, admiring the quantities of beautiful wild flowers. When fruit began to ripen I used to bargain in Italian with the fruit-sellers, for our old coachman, who always accompanied me, could do nothing but the paying, being a thorough John Bull, who despised all foreigners, their countries, their ways, and their language. So insular was he in his prejudices that, after we got back to England, when my uncle Charles asked him how he liked being abroad he replied, "I tell you what it is, Mr. Charles, I would rather be hung in Burlington House courtyard than die a natural death abroad!"

Sometimes I rode out of the Porta Romana along the Rome road, and one day in the grounds of the Villa Poggio at Cazano the coachman caught a young blackbird which he took with him to London, where it lived for some years, and in winter, to the intense astonishment of himself and his friends, its plumage became white.

I saw the races of the Cocchi, or Roman cars, in the Piazza Santa Maria Novella, and of the loose horses in the streets on Midsummer Day.

By way of the Baths of Lucca, Spezzia, Genoa, Baveno on the Lago Maggiore, and over the Simplon Pass, we reached Geneva, Paris, and London. My chief recollection of Paris on this occasion is that there were no footways in the

streets and that after heavy rain one had to cross the gutter in the *middle* of the Rue St. Honoré by means of planks.

1830

June 28th.—King William IV was proclaimed in London to-day, and the 1st Life Guards formed the escort to the heralds. It being the custom for the officer in command of the troops on such an occasion to be knighted, my father, upon whom the command would devolve, asked the authorities if instead he could be given the rank of colonel. This being refused, he gave up the command to Major Wyatt, who was duly put in orders for the duty, but he being suddenly taken ill, my father after all had to do the work; nevertheless Major Wyatt got the knighthood.

1831

April.—There was much excitement over the second Reform Bill and its hostile reception by the House of Commons. The Reformers of London got up a demonstration, insisting that everybody should illumine their houses or see them damaged. Much mischief was done by the mob, and the windows of many houses in the West End were broken. Apsley House, being in darkness, was attacked, and, though the Duke of Wellington's servants fired pistols over the heads of the mob, no effect was produced, until a policeman told the rioters that the corpse of the Duchess, who had died on April 24th, was in the house, and

they then moved on. For a long time afterwards the Duke kept boarded up his windows facing the Park, which had been broken by the mob. The house of Sir Robert Wilson, who ten years earlier had been the idol of the people, was also wrecked because he was not sufficiently Radical in his politics to please the populace.

April 27th.—This morning I rode to Upper Harley Street to visit the scene of the fire early yesterday morning, when Lord Walsingham¹ was burned to death in his bed, and Lady Walsingham, in attempting to escape, leaped out of a window into the backyard, where she was found lying with both arms and thighs broken, and death ensued a few hours later.

September 8th.—To-day was the coronation of King William IV. and Queen Adelaide, and from a window in the Horse Guards I saw the procession.

September 10th.—My grandfather, Lord George, was created Earl of Burlington and Baron Cavendish of Keighley, and was succeeded as Member for Derbyshire by his grandson, William Lord Cavendish.²

September 24th.—To-day my cousin, Charles Lambton, died, aged fourteen. He was my uncle's eldest son, and a very handsome boy, as may be seen from Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait of "Master Lambton," which is often called "Childhood's Reveries" when reproduced in black and white.

¹ 3rd Baron.

² Afterwards 7th Duke of Devonshire.

October 18th.—My grandfather was appointed by the King to be one of his equerries.

1832

Some time during this spring I went to a children's fancy-dress ball given at the French Embassy in Hanover Square by the Duchesse de Dino, and I well remember seeing there her father, Prince Talleyrand.¹

November.—In 1830 the Roman Catholic provinces of the kingdom of the United Netherlands had revolted against their incorporation with the Protestant ones of Holland which had been effected by the Peace of 1815, and a Provisional Government had declared their independence as Belgium, which then became a separate kingdom under Leopold of Saxe Coburg. This had led to much diplomatic action, and eventually a French force of 70,000 men, under Marshal Gérard, was this month sent to besiege Antwerp, which was still held by the Dutch troops, 4,500 strong, under General Charras, in defiance of the mandate of Europe. The French commenced the siege on November 29th, and the garrison capitulated on December 23rd, just before the projected final assault. The French lost 200 killed and 695 wounded, and the Dutch in killed and wounded 560. I remember being on the beach at Eastbourne, Sussex, and distinctly hearing the sound of the cannonade across the sea.

December.—At the general election my father was again returned for Derby Borough, which he

¹ Died August 17, 1838.

continued to represent in the Reformed Parliament until 1835.

1833

For some time my father had been altering his London house, and in this year we moved back into it, when its name was changed to "Burlington Gardens." [Some forty-five years later the house became the Bristol Hotel.]

My first acquaintance with the window tax arose from this move, for I remember my father standing with the tax-collector under the wall of Burlington House Garden and pointing out to him that several windows in his new house on which the tax had been charged were merely dummies, and therefore not taxable. [This iniquitous hindrance to light and fresh air in dwelling-houses was not abolished until 1851.]

During the stormy passage of the Reform Bill through Parliament last year, Lord Grey, the Premier, was prepared, owing to the opposition to the Bill in the House of Lords, to swamp the latter, if the Tories held out, by the creation of twenty-eight new Peers, and my father was mentioned as being likely to be one of them. The alterations to our house were then in progress, and the joke at the time was that he was to be made "Baron Bricks and Mortar." However, the most malcontent of the Peers abstained from the division, and the Bill passed.

March 15th.—Lord Durham was to-day made Viscount Lambton and Earl of Durham.

1834

April 21st.—I looked on at the great trade union procession, estimated to number 30,000 persons, marching down Regent Street to Whitehall to deliver to the Home Secretary a petition to the King on behalf of six Dorchester agricultural labourers who had been sentenced to seven years' transportation for felony in being members of an illegal society (a trade union) and in administering oaths to its members. Lord Melbourne very rightly declined to receive a petition so delivered, and after the crowd had dispersed it was presented to him by a deputation, and in due course he laid it before the King. [How the times have changed in the many years since then! It seems to me now as if trades unions will very soon become our masters, and our very existence will depend upon their caprices!—1889.]

May 9th.—My grandfather, Lord Burlington, died at Burlington House, aged eighty, and is succeeded by his grandson William.

May 15th.—Edmund Kean, the great actor, died at his house in Richmond, having completely broken down on March 20th whilst appearing as Othello at Covent Garden Theatre. I had seen him in that character and also as Richard III.

June 17th.—An acquaintance of ours, Mr. Parry, 1st Life Guards, for some reason tried to swim across the Serpentine with all his clothes on, but was drowned in the attempt.

October 16th.—Both Houses of Parliament, as well as the ancient Chapel of St. Stephen, were



LADY ELIZABETH COMPTON.

Only child of Charles 7th Earl of Northampton by Lady
ANNE SOMERSET, daughter of 4th Duke of Beaufort.

Born 25th June, 1760.

Died 7th April, 1835.

Married 27th February, 1782, Lord GEORGE AUGUSTUS HENRY
CAVENDISH, created Earl of Burlington in 1831.

After Sir Joshua Reynolds.

entirely destroyed by fire in consequence of some workmen having overheated the stoves through burning old Treasury tallies, which were notched pieces of wood, the primitive devices used as expense vouchers from the reign of William the Conqueror to that of Queen Anne. We were at Eastbourne at the time, and the glare of the conflagration was plainly to be seen from the Sussex Downs, and I remember the sight of the blackened ruins when we returned to London.

1835

In January the King and Queen went to Brighton to reside for a while at the Pavilion, and as their escort some troops of the 1st Life Guards were sent down to the Cavalry Barracks at Preston. My father was in command of them, and he took a house in Brighton for us. When the Court returned to London we went to Compton Place, near Eastbourne, to pay a visit to my grandmother, Lady Burlington.

My earliest recollection of my grandfather is seeing him walking on the lawn here wearing grey pantaloons and Hessian boots. Lady Burlington, who died on April 7th, I remember as a charmingly dressed old lady, who wore a high cap, a stiff white necktie with a diamond brooch in it, and a black silk dress. She must have been very beautiful in her youth, judging by the paintings of her as Lady Elizabeth Compton by Peters and Sir Joshua Reynolds. She inherited the Compton Place estate from her father, the 7th Earl of Northampton,

grandson of the 4th Earl, to whom it had been left by his brother, Sir Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, the celebrated Speaker of the House of Commons, who had purchased it from the Wilson family.

We had previously visited Eastbourne nearly every autumn, and we boys were generally lodged in or near the "Round House," a strangely shaped building standing on the very edge of the cliff (where Splash Point is now), and which had been the residence of Queen Victoria's father in 1780. The Parade (or sea-wall) now checks the encroachment of the sea, which used to be very great at this spot, for a friend of mine tells me his father used to play in cricket matches in a field between the Round House and the then edge of the cliff.

This summer my father rented a house adjoining Windsor Forest called Little St. Leonards, which belonged to a Mrs. Dawson, whom I recollect coming, although in her hundredth year, to call on my mother. We knew a great many of the officers in the Blues and the Grenadiers quartered at Windsor, and they used to join our riding parties in the Great Park and the Forest, our water parties on the Thames, and our picnics at Clifden and Dropmore. My father, being in the Household, was allowed keys of all the gates in the Royal Demesne, which was a great convenience to us in our expeditions.

One day in June Lord William Bentinck, on his return from India, and his brother-in-law, Lord Gosford,¹ on his appointment as Governor

¹ 2nd Earl.

of Lower Canada, came down to Windsor Castle to pay their respects to the King, and after the audience they came in a postchaise to our house, the former to pay a visit to my mother, but the latter, not being acquainted with her, remained outside in the chaise. Our old butler, not knowing him, took him for Lord William's valet, and entertained him with light conversation and beer, until undeceived by our tutor, Crickmay, who knew Gosford by sight.

One summer's day there was a sham fight in the Park, and after it the troops rested under the large trees near Cumberland Lodge. I remember seeing Lord Frederick FitzClarence (the King's son) going up to one of the sergeants and hearing him say, "Were you not with me in Cato Street?" He recognized him as one of the party of the Coldstream Guards who, under his command in 1820, aided in the arrest of nine conspirators in Cato Street. Thistlewood, the ringleader, got away on this occasion, after murdering a police officer, but was subsequently arrested and, with four others, hanged at Newgate. My father told me that in riding past Newgate he had seen the five bodies hanging.

Another day their Majesties gave a large luncheon party near the Chinese Fishing Temple at Virginia Water, and the collation was served in large tents, which I was told had been taken from Tippoo Sahib at the Battle of Seringapatam. We children were all invited, and there I commenced my acquaintance with Prince

Edward of Saxe-Weimar, afterwards in the Guards.

The British Auxiliary Legion, 8,000 strong, was raised this year in England and Ireland by permission of Lord Palmerston, though contrary to international law, to assist the Queen of Spain against the Carlists, and under the command of Colonel de Lacy Evans it was sent to the North of Spain.

Ferdinand VII of Spain had decreed in 1830 that the crown should devolve in regular succession to his heirs, whether male or female, notwithstanding the Salique law hitherto in force, and when he died in 1833 his infant daughter, Isabella Maria II, aged three, ascended the throne to the exclusion of Don Carlos, her uncle and the rightful heir. Her mother, Queen Maria Christina (niece and wife of Ferdinand) became Regent, and ruled in her name. Don Carlos landed in the North of Spain, and was joined by a large number of Spaniards. A desultory guerrilla war ensued, and the most dreadful barbarities were committed by both sides. At length a convention was signed, in 1835, by both parties, that prisoners should be treated according to the laws of war amongst civilized nations. At this time we boys had a tutor named Maturin, whose brother went out with the Legion as a cavalry officer, and so we used to hear a good deal of what went on. [The Legion went through many hardships and much hard fighting, but seems to have been indifferently led and badly organized. Although

the men had only been enlisted for one year, Evans retained them against their will by the simple expedient of withholding the pay due to them. Almost at the close of their career they were driven into San Sebastian under cover of 400 or 500 of our Marines, who withstood the whole Carlist army. Notwithstanding the convention mentioned above, four of the Legion were, in February, 1837, shot in cold blood by the Carlists. The war went on until September, 1840, but the Legion was disbanded in disaster in April, 1838.]

1836

March 26th.—A terrible fire broke out this evening in the Western Exchange and the Burlington Arcade, resulting in the destruction by fire and water of most of the shops and their valuable contents. I watched it from our windows, some of which became so hot we could not stand near them. Apart from the danger to our house, which was just opposite, this fire was unusually exciting to us, as the Arcade belonged to my Uncle Charles.

1837

This year I began to keep a journal more or less regularly.

Much talk was occasioned in London by the report that Lord Ranelagh (7th Viscount), who had recently left the 1st Life Guards, had been serving with the Carlists, and that he had in one

engagement commanded an attack against one of the regiments of the British Legion; but he eventually succeeded in clearing himself from this latter charge, which after all was only a piece of hyper-sentimentality, even if it had been true.

February 9th.—In the Court of King's Bench Lord de Ros¹ brought an action against a Mr. Cumming, who accused him of cheating at cards, but the trial ended to-day unfavourably for his Lordship. [He left at once for the Continent, where he resided for some time, but subsequently returning to England, he lived very quietly in Grove Road, St. John's Wood, where he died unmarried, March 29, 1839.]

June 20th.—King William IV died to-day at 2 a.m., and the Princess Victoria ascended the throne. Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, sent for my father, who was the King's equerry, and took him down with him when he went to Kensington Palace to present himself to the new Monarch at 9 a.m. My father was then presented to Her Majesty, and was the first Commoner to "kiss hands" in the new reign.

July 9th.—The late King was buried in St. George's Chapel this evening. My brothers and I were present at the ceremony, which was a most magnificent sight. Our tickets admitted us by the same door as the Eton boys, and the crush was so great that had it not been for the kindly help of a friendly policeman, who knew us, we would never have got inside.

¹ 19th Baron.

July 13th.—The Queen removed from Kensington Palace to Buckingham House to-day, and my father told me she had given strict orders for her own little bed to be taken across for her to sleep in.

July 20th.—The Queen appointed my father to be her Chief Equerry and Clerk-Marshal, and my youngest brother George to be a Page of Honour.

August 29th.—My half-sister, Sarah Mary, was appointed a Maid of Honour.

September 22nd.—By the Queen's desire my three brothers, my sister and I were taken by my mother to-day to Windsor Castle to be introduced. The Queen spoke to us in turn as we were informally presented, and before leaving she herself handed to each of us a present. Mine was a gold pencil-case set with turquoises.

October.—I paid a visit to Lord¹ and Lady Burlington at Holker Hall, Lancashire, and took my first journey by railway, which new method of travel astonished me mightily.

1838

Between January 7th and February 6th there was severe frost, and the Thames was completely blocked with ice. A sheep was roasted whole on the ice near Hammersmith Suspension Bridge, and games of skittles were played opposite the Custom House. Two large fires on the ice, and persons selling liquid and other refreshments, re-

¹ 2nd Earl.

called to the recollection of many the celebrated Frost Fair on the Thames in 1814, of which I have a curious print with this inscription: "The beginning of the year 1814 was remarkable for the severity of the weather. In the beginning of February the Thames, being choked with ice and in many places completely frozen over, booths were erected in all directions between London and Blackfriars bridges; bullocks and sheep were roasted whole, and all the usual sports and pastimes of a fair were kept up for some days."

There also seems to have been a printing press on the ice, for I have a slip of paper on which is printed this doggerel:—

"Feby Eighteen Hundred and Fourteen,
On the Thames was held a Fair;
In future times when this is seen
You may tell 'twas printed there."

January 16th.—To-night Lord Durham¹ was appointed "Governor-General, Vice-Admiral, and Captain-General of all Her Majesty's Provinces within and adjacent to the continent of North America, and also Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada." The cause of his getting this very long-winded appointment was a rebellion in Canada, which had necessitated the reassembly of Parliament this day. The Canadian Provinces, of which the Lower was French and the Upper British

¹ 1st Earl.

by immigration, were each Crown Colonies, and each had a separate Parliament under a Governor. Revolutionary principles had spread, being fomented by the United States, which disliked the growing prosperity of the Canadas, and the authority of the Governors had been defied by the Speakers of the Houses of Assembly. Sir John Colborne (afterwards Lord Seaton), the Governor of Upper Canada, was removed, and was succeeded by Sir Francis Head. Lord Gosford, the Governor of Lower Canada, got into difficulties through having retained in office certain officials of whom the Assembly did not approve. He also dismissed some militia officers for taking part in political meetings, and he issued warrants for high treason against certain members of the Assembly. An explosion occurred in 1837, and fighting took place between the Militia and the Canadian rebels, aided by American citizens. Sir F. Head sent his Regular troops to help Lord Gosford, preferring to rely on his Militia after the insurrection had come to a head. This proved perfectly successful, but was so risky an experiment that it was not approved by the Home Government, and he was at once recalled. Lord Gosford, whose somewhat autocratic methods had not found favour in the eyes of the Ministry in England, resigned at the end of 1837, being succeeded by Sir John Colborne.

[The Ministry replaced Sir F. Head by Sir George Arthur, suspended the Constitution of both Provinces, Lord Durham went out with full

powers, and more troops were sent from England in March. Prompt action was taken against the ringleaders, most of whom escaped but were outlawed, and the rebellion ended in October. But Lord Durham, for having approved certain measures, such as the exiling of eight rebel leaders to Bermuda and the summary execution of some rebels caught red-handed, was censured by the House of Lords on August 9th by a vote of fifty-four to thirty-six. He returned to England on November 26, 1838, and resigned on December 7th, Lord Melbourne having said he thought his conduct had been rash and indiscreet. The insurrection broke out again on November 3rd. Sir John Colborne, the new Governor-General, proclaimed martial law, the rebels were defeated at Prescott, in which action we lost 45 men, killed and wounded, but captured 159 rebels (who included 131 Yankees), and the movement collapsed. Much irritation still existed between us and the United States, which had behaved shamefully, but this gradually subsided. In 1840 the two Provinces were united into one Dependency under a Governor-General.

My uncle was much chagrined at the results of his mission, and his death on July 29, 1840, at the age of forty-eight, was accelerated by his disappointment. His Report on the state of Canada, in which he advocated the grant of self-government to British Colonies, was, however, accepted as a guiding principle, and he may be said to have laid the foundation-stone of our Colonial Empire.

Freddy Cavendish, my half-brother, went out with Lord Durham as aide-de-camp and brought back his dispatches in November, 1838.]

June 28th.—I was at Devonshire House to see the Royal Procession pass on its way to Westminster for the Queen's coronation. The crowd was immense, and it was said that four hundred thousand people came to London for the occasion. It was a very grand sight, especially so owing to the numerous foreign ambassadors in their splendid coaches and uniforms. Amongst them, and representing the King of the French, was Marshal Soult, Duc de Dalmatie, who was much cheered by the populace, although he had been the great opponent of Wellington in the Peninsular War. These two old antagonists of course met during the festivities, and a caricature by "H. B." came out representing them shaking hands and making the "Iron Duke" say something like this: "Je vous ai parcourru très souvent et enfin je vous rencontre." As a matter of fact it was by no means their first meeting off the battlefield. A four-day fair had been going on in Hyde Park; the illuminations were very fine, and a grand display of fireworks in Hyde and Green Parks ended this memorable day.

July 9th.—The Queen, accompanied by a large suite of distinguished English and foreign personages, reviewed about five thousand cavalry and infantry in Hyde Park. Marshal Soult and the Duke of Wellington were again heartily cheered by the crowd. There were no very serious

accidents, but one of the casualties was the breaking of Marshal Soult's stirrup-leathers, which, either by accident or design, were those used by Napoleon in some of his campaigns.

1839

May 7th.—The Ministry were beaten on the Jamaica Bill this morning, and have resigned. Lord Melbourne has advised the Queen to send for the Duke of Wellington.

The Jamaican troubles have arisen out of the abolition of slavery in 1833, which left apprenticeship still in force there and led to many abuses, although in Cape Colony it worked very well. An "Act to Amend the Abolition of Slavery Act" was passed in 1838 and promulgated in Jamaica on June 1st, and the slaves were fully emancipated on August 1st. The management of the prisons had given dissatisfaction to the Home Government, and they had requested the House of Assembly to institute an inquiry into the matter. Meanwhile, Captain Pringle, an inspector sent out from England, had visited the prisons and left the island without making any report to the Assembly. Another Bill, the "Jamaica Prisons Bill," had been passed at home, and it also was promulgated in August. This the Assembly, who were still at work on their inquiry, held to be discourteous, especially as they had just declared complete emancipation of the slaves in order to please the people at home, and, added to previous high-handed proceedings of former Governors, it made them so

angry that they resolved to suspend legislative functions "until they knew whether they were to be treated as free subjects or as a conquered Colony." The Melbourne Ministry thereupon brought in a Jamaica Bill to suspend the constitution for five years and to appoint a Governor and three commissioners with full powers to pass necessary laws, but an amendment by Sir Robert Peel was defeated by 304 to 299—a Government majority of only five.

May 8th.—The Queen has seen the Duke of Wellington, who told her Sir Robert Peel¹ is the only man. Peel has been sent for and told to form a Ministry.

May 9th.—Peel has had a long interview with the Queen and demanded a change in some of her Ladies-in-Waiting. The Queen is furious.

May 10th.—The Queen has flatly refused to make any change in her Ladies; the late Ministry is backing her up, and Peel has resigned.

May 11th.—The old Cabinet is back in office. At the Queen's ball to-night the Court party were very sulky, and the wildest tales were in circulation. Many people think the resignation was a political trick, and that the backing up of the Queen in her refusal by Melbourne and Co. was a discreditable intrigue to upset Peel.

[However, Lord Glenelg, the worst Colonial Minister that ever existed, resigned, and was succeeded by Lord John Russell,² who in August

¹ 2nd Baronet.

² Third son of 6th Duke of Bedford.

brought in a new Jamaica Bill, which in a modified form was passed but led eventually to further troubles.]

July 17th.—Whilst the Queen was riding in Hyde Park a man named Willett so much annoyed her that my father gave him into the custody of the police. Willett had to enter into heavy recognizances to keep the peace, besides being fined £5 for assaulting his arrestors.

During this summer I used frequently to go to St. John's Wood, where, in an enclosure, those who were to take part in the Eglintoun Tournament used to practise tilting, &c., to fit themselves for their rôles as knights and esquires. The tournament took place on August 28th, 29th, and 30th, in shockingly wet weather.

August 31st.—The Queen's cousins, Prince Augustus and Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, and her uncle, Count von Mensdorff-Pouilly, being at Windsor Castle for a visit, there was dancing there to-night to which my parents and we elder children were invited.

September 3rd.—Prince Augustus went to Woolwich, accompanied by my father, to see a field-day of the garrison.

September 5th.—The King and Queen of the Belgians arrived at the Castle to-day.

September 6th.—Whilst we boys were out riding to-day rain came on, and we had to take shelter in the stables at Cumberland Lodge. Five minutes later the Queen did the same, and as she walked in at one door we just had time to bolt out of the other

into the rain. To-night, after dinner, the Queen told my father she was very sorry she had unconsciously turned us out of the stables. There was no dancing, as Count von Mensdorff-Pouilly had to take his leave.

September 9th.—There was a Royal Dance to-night in honour of the Belgians, to which we were asked, but I could not go.

September 11th.—The Saxe-Coburgs left to-day, and last night there was no dancing owing to the Queen's sorrow at their departure.

September 12th.—The Queen having asked to see my niece, Mary Harcourt, aged six weeks, she was sent up to the Castle, and both Her Majesty and the King of the Belgians said she was a very fine baby.

September 14th.—The Queen of the Belgians went to London, attended by my father, to see as much as she could in the day, having to be back at Windsor to dine with the Queen at 7 p.m. It was a pouring wet day, but she saw the Mint, St. Paul's, the Coliseum, &c., &c.

September 16th.—There was more dancing at the Castle.

October 4th.—To-night there was a large dinner-party at the Castle, followed by dancing. It was the first time I had seen the Castle in all its magnificence by night, and the splendour of the scene impressed me enormously. The Queen danced a great deal and appeared to be in high spirits.

The Queen's new horse, chosen for her by Lord Uxbridge,¹ is a handsome dark chestnut barb. She

¹ Eldest son of 1st Marquess of Anglesey.

is very pleased with it, has named it Uxbridge, and all the Court are in raptures over the animal.

November 23rd.—The Queen announced her intended marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha at an extraordinary meeting of the Privy Council, of which eighty-three members were present.

The King of the Belgians has always intended to bring about this marriage, and what he heard during his recent visit decided him to bring matters on a bit quicker. So he sent Albert and his brother over here on October 10th, with the result that the Queen fell in love with and proposed to Albert on the 15th. Thus the worst fears of the anti-German faction are realized, though whom else but a German the poor girl is to marry I cannot see.

December 5th.—The new postal rate of fourpence a letter in the country and one penny in London, as in King Charles II's time, came into force to-day. The Penny Postage Bill passed the House of Lords without a division on August 29th, and thus Rowland Hill's scheme became law. Hitherto the Post Office had carried a letter of one sheet of notepaper at a rate from fourpence to one shilling and eightpence according to distance in the country, and at threepence in London. The number of letters posted in London on December 4th was 39,000, on the 5th 60,000, and after the 6th the increase, taking a daily average, was from 25 to 30 per cent. above the average numbers before the penny rate.

December 7th.—The launch of the steamer

President, built for the British and American Steam Navigation Company, took place to-day at Limehouse. That is to say, an attempt to float her out of dock was made, but there being too little water under her, she grounded aft and stayed so until the 9th, when she was towed off and taken to Blackwall. [This was an unfortunate beginning for an Atlantic liner, and when in April, 1841, she failed to make her appearance in London from New York at her due date great anxiety was felt, and her launch was remembered as an evil omen. She was never heard of again, and as other ships reported that very bad weather, and ice in unusual quantities for the time of year, had been encountered by them in the Atlantic Ocean, it was supposed she must have run into some ice and then foundered with all on board. Amongst her passengers were the well-known Irish actor, Tyrone Power, and a cousin of mine, Lord FitzRoy Lennox.¹]

1840

January 10th.—The general postage charge within Great Britain and Ireland has been reduced to one penny per half an ounce, and gummed labels with the Queen's head on them have been provided to prepay carriage. People say the new scheme is good for the public, and those who do not mind label-licking, but the consequent loss of revenue entails the levy of an income tax.

[For some weeks the revenue suffered severely,

¹ Second son of 5th Duke of Richmond.

and the total loss in the first twelve months was about one million pounds.]

February 10th.—This morning Queen Victoria was married in St. James's Chapel, and I had a good view of the processions from a seat in a stand in the Tiltyard. My father was in attendance on Prince Albert in his procession to St. James's Palace and on the Queen during the ceremony.

In the afternoon I was out riding and saw the happy couple leave Buckingham Palace and drive up Constitution Hill on their way to Windsor Castle for the honeymoon. My sister, Sarah Mary, was the Maid of Honour in waiting.

Prince Albert has been naturalized as an Englishman, has been made a Royal Highness, and Parliament has given him £30,000 a year after a lot of discussion. On the whole he cannot consider he has been received with open arms by the British nation.

The fashionable world of London has been very much amused by the publication of the following correspondence between Lady Seymour (wife of Lord Seymour, eldest son of the Duke of Somerset), who was a Sheridan, and had been the "Queen of Beauty" at the Eglington Tournament last year, and Lady Shuckburgh, wife of Sir Francis Shuckburgh, Baronet:—

1. "Lady Seymour presents her compliments to Lady Shuckburgh, and would be obliged to her for the character of Mary Stedman, who states she has lived twelve months and still is in Lady Shuck-

burgh's establishment. Can Mary Stedman cook plain dishes well? make bread? and is she honest, good-tempered, sober, willing and cleanly? Lady Seymour would also like to know the reason why she leaves Lady Shuckburgh's service?

"Direct under cover to Lord Seymour, Maiden Bradley."

2. "Lady Shuckburgh presents her compliments to Lady Seymour. Her Ladyship's note dated October 28th only reached her yesterday, November 3rd. Lady Shuckburgh was unacquainted with the name of the kitchen-maid until mentioned by Lady Seymour, as it is her custom neither to apply for nor give characters to any of the under-servants, this being always done by the housekeeper, Mrs. Couch, and this was well known to the young woman; therefore Lady Shuckburgh is surprised at her referring any lady to her for a character. Lady Shuckburgh having a professed cook, as well as housekeeper, in her establishment, it is not very likely she herself should know anything of the abilities or merits of the under-servants, therefore she is unable to answer Lady Seymour's note. Lady Shuckburgh cannot imagine Mary Stedman to be capable of cooking for any except the servants'-hall table.

"Pavilion, Hans Place, November 4th."

3. "Lady Seymour presents her compliments to Lady Shuckburgh, and begs she will order her housekeeper, Mrs. Pouch, to send the girl's

character without delay, otherwise another young woman will be sought for elsewhere, as Lady Seymour's children cannot remain without their dinners because Lady Shuckburgh, keeping a 'professed cook and a housekeeper' thinks a knowledge of the details of her establishment beneath her notice. Lady Seymour understood from Stedman that, in addition to her other talents, she was actually capable of dressing food fit for the little Shuckburghs to partake of when hungry."

[To the above note was appended a clever pen-and-ink drawing by Lady Seymour, representing the three little Shuckburghs, with large turnip-looking heads and cauliflower wigs, sitting at a round table, eating and voraciously scrambling for mutton-chops, dressed by Mary Stedman, who is seen looking on with supreme satisfaction whilst Lady Shuckburgh appears in the distance in evident dismay.]

4. "MADAM,—Lady Shuckburgh has directed me to acquaint you that she declines answering your note, the vulgarity of which is beneath contempt, and although it may be the characteristic of the Sheridans to be vulgar, coarse, and witty, it is not that of a 'Lady' unless she happens to have been born in a garret and bred in a kitchen. Mary Stedman informs me that your Ladyship does not keep either a cook or a housekeeper, and that you only require a girl who can cook a mutton-chop. If so, I apprehend Mary Stedman or any other scullion will be found fully equal to cook

for or manage the establishment of the Queen of Beauty.

“I am, Your Ladyship’s, &c., &c.,
“ELIZABETH COUCH (not Pouch).”

The month of April I passed in Paris with my aunt and half-sisters. We took two chariots with us and drove from Boulogne to Paris, but the journey home was made by water, down the Seine to Havre and thence to Southampton. I saw most of the sights of Paris, including the picture galleries of the Marquis di las Marismas, and Marshal Soult, likewise a big review at Versailles held by the King of the French. For exercise in the Bois de Boulogne I hired a horse from a riding-master, who very euphoniously styled himself “Le Vicomte O’Hoggerty.”

On our return to England we were greeted by the shocking intelligence that Lord William Russell,¹ who was my mother’s uncle by marriage, had been murdered on May 5th by his valet, Courvoisier; the murderer was convicted, and was executed on July 6th. Mr. Charles Phillips, who appeared for him, was very much blamed for his conduct of the defence, in trying to inculcate the housemaid, for it appeared he had some days before received from Courvoisier a full confession of guilt. Before the execution I went with a party of friends over Newgate Prison, and we were allowed to see, through a hole in their cell doors, Courvoisier, and another murderer named Gould.

¹ Grandson of 4th Duke of Bedford.

May 22nd.—I was riding this afternoon on the grass opposite Knightsbridge Barracks, when Captain Otway,¹ 1st Life Guards, who was just in front of me with Lord George Paget,² his relative, met with a terrible accident. His horse stumbled, then reared and fell back upon him. I dashed into the barracks to get assistance, and the poor fellow was carried into the officers' quarters. [It was found that, amongst other injuries, he had a fractured pelvis, and after lingering a few days he died. He was much mourned by his regiment, and it was touching to see how silently the men moved about in barracks whilst he was lying ill there.]

June 3rd and 5th.—At Epsom I saw the Derby won by Little Wonder and the Oaks by Crucifix, a mare owned by Lord George Bentinck,³ who is said to have won twenty thousand pounds over her victory.

June 10th.—The Queen was shot at by Oxford the lunatic as she was driving up Constitution Hill, and in the evening as I was passing by I saw the mark of the bullet in the Palace wall.

June 26th.—This afternoon Lord⁴ and Lady Ravensworth gave a breakfast at their villa, Percy Cross, near Fulham, to the Queen and Prince Albert, to which I was invited, and in the evening the gardens were very prettily illuminated.

August 7th.—Prince Louis Napoleon made an

¹ Eldest son of Sir Robert Otway, 1st Baronet.

² Sixth son of 1st Marquess of Anglesey.

³ Third son of 4th Duke of Portland.

⁴ First Baron, created 1821.

idiotic landing at Boulogne yesterday with fifty men and a tame eagle, and tried to induce the soldiers to take part in a Napoleonic rising. He was arrested and taken to Paris, and will doubtless suffer heavily for his folly.

September 7th.—Lord Uxbridge, Lord Chamberlain, has been allowed to live at Cumberland Lodge, and as he is a great cricketer, there have been several matches between his party and ours at St. Leonard's. To-day there was one, and Uxbridge going in first, hit the first ball hard to my uncle, Lord Charles FitzRoy,¹ Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, who was fielding at point. The ball hit him on the nose, and the sight of so much noble blood flowing in so peaceful a cause caused some amusement to the spectators.

October 2nd.—Princess Augusta, daughter of King George III, was buried this evening in St. George's Chapel, and I was a spectator of the ceremony.

Prince Louis Napoleon has been tried and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and has been sent to the fortress of Ham.

October 28th.—During the summer and autumn Prince Albert has attended several drills of the 1st Life Guards under my father, and to-day I went to the exercising-ground near Queen Anne's Walk in Windsor Park, to see His Royal Highness drill a squadron. He wore the undress uniform of the 11th Hussars, of which he is colonel.

November 21st.—My father, being in waiting

¹ Second son of 4th Duke of Grafton.

eye for a long time past, owing to various incidents which have placed him in hot water. In August, 1834, a court-martial held at Cork, to investigate charges preferred against Captain Wathen, 15th Hussars, by his commanding officer, Lord Cardigan, had for result the transfer of the latter to the 11th Hussars. On May 16th last year his Lordship took violent exception to Captain Reynolds's placing on the mess table a black bottle of Moselle when the inspecting officer, Major-General Sleigh, was dining with the officers of the 11th Hussars. High words passed between them on the following day, resulting in Reynolds being placed under arrest for a long period. In September a duel took place on Wimbledon Common between Lord Cardigan and Captain Tuckett, late of the 11th Hussars, about some letters which the latter had published in the *Morning Post* reflecting upon the character of the former. Captain Tuckett was wounded and Lord Cardigan was arrested, and committed by the Surrey magistrates for trial on a charge of felony under Act of Parliament 1 Vic., cap. 85. Cardigan claimed to be tried by his peers, and this trial took place in the House of Lords on February 18th, when he was acquitted owing to a flaw in the evidence.

Last October another Captain Reynolds, 11th Hussars, was cashiered by court-martial for challenging Lord Cardigan, and within the last twelve months Cardigan had a soldier flogged on a Sunday between the Services on the spot where half an hour previously the regiment had paraded for Divine Service.

People very naturally say that there must be something wrong in his Lordship's regimental methods, and that the Queen will remove him from his command.

May 5th.—With my two younger brothers, their tutor, Mr. Hubbersty, and Dr. Campbell, 1st Life Guards, I started on April 3rd for a tour on the Continent. Talbot Clifton, 1st Life Guards, joined our party, and we had as courier one Freyburg, who had served through the Russian campaign of 1812. Taking with us two britskas for the road, we crossed to Havre and went up the Seine to Rouen. The Seine steamer *La Normandie* having a few months ago carried the remains of the Emperor Napoleon I on their way to Paris from St. Helena, she had a large "N" surrounded with a black wreath of flowers on each side of the paddle-boxes.

From Rouen we posted to Tours, Blois (where we visited the château of Francis I, in which the dépôts of two infantry regiments were quartered), and by the mountains of the Puy de Dôme to Lyons, Avignon, Nismes, Arles, and Marseilles. The wind and dust on the last two days were dreadful, and in the Marseilles hotel we found our rooms full of two sorts of crawling, biting insects, which the landlord said were brought by passengers from the ships!

Along the lovely Riviera, by the road constructed by Napoleon, and through Cigoletto, the real birth-place of Christopher Columbus, we drove to Genoa. Here we were lucky enough to step into the

excellent rooms just vacated by the Duchess of Cambridge at the Hôtel de Quatre Nations.

Amongst many other sights we visited the Palazzo Reale, which formerly belonged to the Durazzo family, and contains a famous Paolo Veronese, "The Magdalene at the feet of Christ in the house of the Pharisee," also several other good paintings by Titian, van Dyck, and Caravaggio. Here we saw the bedroom in which upon a small iron bedstead the King of Sardinia sleeps one night on his journeys between Sardinia and Turin, for he never stays in Genoa longer.

In the Palazzo Serra (once the property of the Spinolas, one of whom lost it at cards, when it was bought by the Marquis di Serra) is a gorgeous saloon, the decorations, exclusive of the pictures and porcelain, having cost £40,000.

The best collection of pictures is in the Palazzo Rosso, belonging to the Brignole family, the gem being "Christ purifying the Temple," by Guercino. It was in this palace that my godfather, Lord William Bentinck, gave a grand fête, when he had captured the town from the French in 1814.

The Doges used to live in the Palazzo Ducale, and their great council chamber is magnificent. It once contained good statues of persons eminent for their public services, but these were destroyed by the French Republican troops, and have been replaced by heads of modern plaster and bodies of drapery stuffed with straw. The Governor of Genoa occupies the palace now, and has under his command a garrison of eight thousand men.

The Palazzo Pallavicini, built by Buonarrotti, contains some good paintings. Raphael's "Virgin" is in one very comfortably furnished drawing-room, and the Marquis very courteously left the room in order that we might examine the pictures at our leisure.

We also visited the Church of Santa Maria di Carignano, which has statues by Puget and pictures by Piniola and Guercino. We came back to the town by the Ponte di Carignano, which crosses a deep chasm, and was built by the Santi family to enable them to go to the church without having to negotiate a steep hill.

In the Albergo dei Poveri we saw one thousand poor men and eight hundred poor women, besides many children who did not look at all thriving. They exist upon the sums given by benefactors whose statues and crests are exhibited in the hall and on the staircase, also upon the proceeds of such work as they are able to turn out. In its chapel there are four good pictures by Piniola, whom Carlone murdered, for which crime he was imprisoned, and only regained his liberty by agreeing to paint the ceilings of the two churches of Annunziata and San Ambrogio.

May 24th.—Leaving Genoa on the 6th, we reached Lucca next day, having passed through several custom-posts belonging to the smaller Italian States, where we were delayed but not searched. At Carrara we visited the marble works, and much admired a chimney-piece, for which they were asking two thousand four hundred

francs, but we only bought some small paper-weights.

Reaching Florence on May 10th, and resting there until the 24th, we visited the many interesting buildings and superb picture galleries for which it is renowned, but these are too well known for me to dwell upon.

I went one day to the Courts of Justice in the Uffizzi Palace, where I saw the pardon of the Grand Duke given to a criminal, and for this ceremony all the judges, wearing their State robes, were assembled. I then went up to the Chamber of Jesus, in which are valuable vases of precious stones, intaglios, cameos, and bronzes.

We saw the Grand Duke driving in the Cascine Gardens, and we visited his stables in the Palazzo Pitti, where he keeps one hundred and sixty very fine horses, many of them bred in England. His State carriage was covered with gilding, and the lining was of green velvet with silver lace.

September 12th.—Arriving at Bologna on May 25th, we went to the magnificent picture gallery in the Belli Arti, and saw two other good collections in the Zambeccari and Marescalchi Palaces.

The weather was very hot, and we found the town both noisy and dirty. I asked our *laquais de place* if it were not very hot here in mid-summer, and his reply was, “Il fait chaud comme le diable”!

From Bologna we proceeded on to Venice, and, during eight days there, had a perfect orgie of sight-seeing, but the fatigue of it was greatly mitigated by the luxury of going about in a gondola.

Here we met Lord Ranelagh, who was living on board his yacht, the *Harriet*, and on June 1st Talbot Clifton suddenly and secretly left for the Papal Dominions in order to act as second to him in a duel with Prince Esterhazy. The quarrel arose owing to the Prince having "cut" him in the Piazza San Marco a day or two after having been shown over the *Harriet* by Ranelagh, and when asked for an explanation, having said he did not wish to continue the acquaintance as he did not consider Lord Ranelagh had behaved kindly to one of his [Lord Ranelagh's] sisters who had married Baron von Rechberg [afterwards Prime Minister of Austria]. Shots were exchanged, but the only damage done was to a whisker of one of the combatants, which was perforated by a pistol-ball!

From Venice we went to Dezenzano, and by steamer up the Lago di Garda to Riva. The scenery was very magnificent, but the hotel! Its rooms provided us with three kinds of crawlers, and the food was detestably bad. When we were leaving the landlord told Freyburg that he heard the Duchess of Kent had left England for the Continent, and he hoped Her Royal Highness would honour his hotel, but on being told, in somewhat pointed terms, he must first greatly improve it, he was much shocked, as he considers it to be first rate.

Arrived at Milan, we found Talbot Clifton had got there some days earlier, and was recovering from the fatigues of the duel at the Hôtel de la ville de Milan, which he said was much better

than the one at which we had descended, namely, the "De la Croix."

After admiring the perfection of the Cathedral, and the valuable ornaments in the vault, where lies the body of St. Carlo Borromeo, who was canonized for his religious zeal—that is, for his fiendish cruelties to all those who differed from his tenets—we inspected three more churches, San Alessandro, Santa Maria presa San Celso, and San Lorenzo, which at one time was a Temple of Hercules in the old Roman town of Mediolanum.

We also went one evening to the La Scala Theatre to see Mlle Taglioni dance in the "Pas de Diane," in the last act of "La Sylphide" and in the last act of "La Gitana." It was her last night, and I have never heard such enthusiastic applause. Showers of bouquets were thrown to her, and an admirer threw one, at least eighteen inches in diameter, which he had got up from Genoa at a cost of 40 francs. Odes to the popular favourite were also distributed, and I picked up one, which runs thus :—

ADDIO A MARIA TAGLIONI.

I.

O prode alunna delle Grazie, o chiara
Delle ardue danze corretrice, addio !
È tardo il pensier mio
L' orme a seguir del tuo volubil piede.
Mesta Ausonia ti cede
Al sagace Rutèno, all' Angelo altero ;
Te fa segno a' suoi voti, al suo desiro
Come un primo d' amor vergin sospiro.

II.

Alla patria d' Alfredo, al polo algent
Dove vestiti il tuo corpore velo
O spirito del cielo
Ovunque spieghi, come silfo, l' ale
Nel cor il suoni il vale
Della fiorente insubrica regina,
Nobil d' Italia parte, che di vera
Gloria l'omaggio, a Te largia primiera.

III.

E allor che delle scene al lustro intendi,
Bella di quel fulgor che ti circonda,
Alle ridente sponda
Volgi del nostro Olona il tuo pensiero ;
Più grande, più sincero
Non eruppe dal cor con maggio piena,
Né rimbombò de' tuoi trionfi il grido
Quando, O Donna, ti accôlse il franco lido.

IV.

Addio ! Verderti è incomparabil gioja ;
Conoscerti, veduta, e a Te da presso,
I pregi del tuo sesso
Pari trovare all' arte onde sei sola.
Donna, non v' ha parola
Che il piacere ineffabile ne esprima ;
Ma è duol che il canto in su le labbra ammuta
L' eterea tua delizia aver perduta !

V.

Ah, riedi, e tosto, a questa terra amica !
Col sorvolante pie' rivarca i monti.
Mari, torrenti e fonti
Non oppongano inciampi a passi tuoi.
Torna, O Maria, fra noi ;
Risoluta d' Europa il bel giardino,
Ove, qual Dea tra carolanti amori.
Movi, senza piegarli, in mezzo ai fiori.

VI.

Della culla dell' arti, a Te piú degna
Qual fia sede, o gentil, che t' offra il mondo ?
E dove piú profondo
Fóra del bello e del sublime il senso ?
È gigantesco, immenso
L' Italo Genio che sull' arti ha impero ;
E se prova ne brami al vero espressa,
Quando danzi, O Maria, guarde te stessa.

MILANO, *Giugno* 12, 1841.

From Milan we went to Stresa, on the Lago Maggiore, thence to Como, the Baths of Bormio, and over the Stelvio Pass to Landeck and Innsbruck. We admired the savage grandeur of the scenery from the Italian side, but the engineering of the road down the northern slope of the Alps filled us with awe. The labour of cutting a road through twelve feet of snow, and of keeping it open, must be enormous, and we did not greatly envy the inspector of the road, whose house on the summit of the pass, 9,272 feet above sea-level, is the highest permanent inhabitation in Europe. Before reaching Landeck, on June 24th, we went through the defile where, during the campaign of 1809, a force of ten thousand French and Bavarians was practically annihilated by an ambush laid by the Tyrolese.

From Berchtesgarten we went to the Royal Hunting Lodge on the Königs See, whither the King of Bavaria goes every year to shoot chamois. Although there are great numbers of them about, we only saw one chamois on the shooting-ground.

On our way to Salzburg we went down the big salt-mine, and for this we had to wear white linen jackets, white cord trousers, black cloth caps, and leather aprons behind, on which to slide down inclines. We went straight into the bowels of the mountain for about a mile, and then came to an immense shaft, where three men blasted a piece of rock for us to hear the terrific noise it caused. The mine is so big that it takes four days to go all over it, and there are thirty springs of brine, one of them furnishing nearly twenty-three million pounds of salt annually.

I consider Salzburg the most beautiful town in all Germany. The river meanders through luxuriant fields and gardens, the surrounding ridges rise one above the other till they merge into the distant Alps, while the woods and precipices, the picturesque town and its old dominating castle add to the charm of the view.

We next visited everything there was on view in Munich, including the New Palace, which will not be finished until 1843, the Church of St. Louis, which is to be opened on August 25, 1842, the carved ivories in the Queen Dowager's Palace, the Great Prison with its big dogs to prevent escape, and the King's porcelain manufactory, where we saw some of the set of plates which are being made for His Majesty, each one having on it a painting of a picture or statue in the Glyptothek or the Pinacothek.

At Augsburg we put up at "The Three Moors" (Die Drei Mohren), which has been an inn under

that name for five hundred years, and we were much interested in the curious cathedral, which has a brass door covered with rude bas-reliefs (dating from 1070) in Byzantine style, of mingled sacred and pagan subjects such as Adam and Eve, the Centaurs, the Temptation, and so on.

On the road from Ulm to Schaffhausen we overtook Prince Ernest of Hesse-Philipstal, who was travelling to Basle. He spoke to us, as he had seen us at Windsor when he was on a visit to his relatives, King William IV and Queen Adelaide. He only had one leg, having lost the other at the Battle of Borodino when serving in the Russian army in 1812. Wounded severely in the leg by a cannon-shot, he was lashed to a gun-carriage and taken off the field; but somehow his smashed leg got loose and hung down, whereupon he lifted it up and supported it in his lap until it could be amputated!

After this we stayed at Zurich for ten days, making excursions to Baden, the Rigi, the Little Rigi, Rapperschwyl, and the Hill of Weid, and then moved on to Lucerne and Andermatt. From here we rode to the top of the St. Gothard Pass, up the Furca, and thence to the Rhone Glacier. From the Hospice of the Grimsel, by a very dangerous path, we visited the falls of the Aar, and from there rode over the Scheideck to Grindelwald. Starting again, we crossed the Wengeln Alp, spent some time in the Hôtel du Jungfrau watching the avalanches falling from the mountain, and then down to Interlaken, whence we

rode up the Rothhorn to see the sunrise, but a thick fog deprived us of the sight.

We stayed ten days at Thun, and then made a tour, chiefly on muleback, by the Gemmi Pass, Leuk, Martigny, Hospice of St. Bernard, the Val d'Aosta, Courmayeur to Chamounix, and thence back to Martigny.

Coming down the zigzag road from the Gemmi Pass to Leuk, our baggage mule was followed by a herd of cattle, and as our courier would not allow them to pass on the narrow road, for fear our mule should be knocked over the precipice, they got crowded together, and one beast fell over, and was dashed to pieces. The owner wished us to pay him its full value, but we declined his invitation.

At Leuk we went to see the bathers, and found between twenty and thirty people of both sexes, and of all ages and classes, in one bath about 14 feet square. These patients were ranged round the sides, sitting on benches below the water, and each was clad in a woollen mantle with a tippet. Here they sit for hours up to their chins in water, drinking coffee, reading, playing chess, &c., &c., and towards the end of the cure, which lasts three weeks, the bath lasts eight hours! I have forgotten what disease it is that requires such terrific soaking. Most of the peasantry whom we saw in these parts (the Vallais) were wretchedly dirty and had immense goitres.

From Martigny we went up to the Hospice of St. Bernard, where we slept. On the way our guide showed us the house in St. Pierre where

Napoleon slept in May, 1800, before crossing the pass. The Hospice is very large, and at a pinch can accommodate three hundred persons, but there are only thirteen monks. They showed us all their magnificent dogs, and their price for a puppy six months old was seventy louis d'or.

Walking down from here to St. Remy in Italy we passed an immense heap of pines which had been carried down into the valley by an avalanche in February, 1840, and the village authorities had already sold part of it for six million francs. We drove down to the Val d'Aosta through beautiful country, though the inhabitants are as much afflicted with goitre as those of the Vallais, and in the evening we arrived at Courmayeur. Getting mules here, we rode over the Col de la Seigne, down to Motet, then over the Cols de Fours and de Bonhomme, down to La Plaine des Dames, and on to Mont Bouran. In the "Plaine" is a heap of stones, to which our guide added one for each of our party, but the origin of this custom is lost, though it is said to commemorate some great lady and her suite who perished here in a storm.

From Chamounix we went up to the Aiguilles, to the Glacier des Boissons, to the Mer de Glace, and then by the Tête Noir over to Martigny, Villeneuve, Vevey, and Geneva to Lausanne, where we stayed for some days.

October 4th.—At length, on September 13th, we left Lausanne in our britskas, and at Fribourg heard the big organ played in the Church of St.

Nicholas. Its notes were very beautiful, but unfortunately the organist had previously dined too well!

At Bâle we embarked ourselves and our carriages and steamed down the Rhine to Coblenz, where we were joined by my father, my sister Caroline, and her governess. When passing Johannisberg, the property of Prince Metternich by right of his wife, our steamer fired a salute in honour of His Excellency, which he duly returned.

From Coblenz we made an excursion to Wiesbaden and Frankfort am Maine, and then took the steamer to Cologne, whose Cathedral we thought very beautiful, though it was more or less in ruins.

By railway to Brussels, whence we visited the field of Waterloo, to Ghent and Antwerp, and here we embarked for London, arriving to-night at the Irongate Stairs.

October 5th.—During our absence Lord Melbourne's Whig Ministry was defeated on June 5th by 312 votes to 311 on Sir Robert Peel's motion of want of confidence. Parliament was dissolved on 25th, and a General Election took place. Parliament reassembled on July 25th, the Ministry were beaten in the House of Commons over the Address, and resigned on August 28th. Sir Robert Peel became Tory Premier, having a majority of 73 in the country, and this time the Household question offered no difficulties.

On August 23rd the Court were at Virginia Water seeing Prince Albert's beagles hunting, my

sister Sarah Mary being in a phaeton and four with Lady Ida Hay¹ and Lord Erroll.² The dogs ran between the horses' legs, and, frightening them, the carriage was upset, but the only one hurt was a postilion.

Lord Cowley³ having been appointed Ambassador in Paris, I endeavoured, through a friend of his, to get appointed as an Attaché there, but owing to the many claimants for favour from the new Tory Ministry, which after ten years of cold Opposition has just come into power, I was not successful.

October 30th.—The old armoury at the Tower, in which a large quantity of obsolete muskets and military weapons were stored, has been burned down. The ground thus made vacant will be utilized for building new barracks for the battalion in garrison at the Tower.

November-December.—I visited Talbot Clifton's father's place, Lytham Hall, my brother's, Codicote Lodge, Lord Dacre's,⁴ The Hoo, and Holker Hall, for hunting and shooting.

¹ Daughter of Lord Erroll, afterwards Countess of Gainsborough.

² Sixteenth Earl, married Lady Elizabeth FitzClarence, daughter of King William IV.

³ Brother of 1st Duke of Wellington, created Baron Cowley, 1828.

⁴ 20th Baron.

CHAPTER II

1842—1846

First Afghan War—The Queen's *bal costumé*—Sarcastic letter of Lord Orford—The Opium War—The Lay of the Hertfordshire Hounds—The murder of Mr. Drummond—The war in Sind—A fatal duel—A dramatic death—The Queen's first visit to France—Yachting in the Channel Islands—The German manœuvres at Lüneberg—Hunting and shooting in Hungary and Bohemia—Prince Metternich—The Gwalior War—The Czar of Russia in England—The Oregon and Tahiti questions—The First Sikh War—Prince Louis Napoleon's escape from Ham—A soldier flogged to death—The Spanish Marriages question—I am appointed an Attaché—The Polish trouble.

1842

I DINED to-night at the French Embassy with Comte and Comtesse de St. Aulaire.

There is terrible news of a large British force, having been cut to pieces in the Khyber Pass by the Afghans, whom we are supposed to have subdued and pacified eighteen months ago.

For a long time we have feared that the slow but steady advance of Russia in Central Asia has for its ultimate goal—India. Although we had the

friendly Sikhs in the Punjaub as a buffer State, it was considered that Afghanistan would form a better one. In 1840, Persia, egged on by Russia, advanced against Herat, wherefore we sent Captain Burnes¹ to Cabul, the most important of the three Afghan Principalities, to ask its ruler, Dost Mahomed, that a British agent, and no other, should be stationed there ; but, as Burnes was not authorized to make any promises or bribes, whereas the Russian agent was lavish with both, our envoy got no farther.

Meanwhile Herat was defended against the Persians and Russians by Major Pottinger,² we withdrew our envoy from the Shah's Court, and sent a small force into the Persian Gulf, which induced the Persians to retire. However, Lord Auckland determined to place on the Cabul Throne Shah Sooja, who had been deposed by Dost Mahomed. After great difficulties, the British forces got to Candahar, captured Ghuznee, and entered Cabul, where Shah Sooja was installed in November, 1840. So far so good, but on November 2nd of last year Sir Alexander Burnes and Captain Johnson were murdered by insurgents, at the head of whom was Akbar Khan (son of Dost Mahomed, now a refugee in British India), who himself murdered Sir William MacNaghten on December 23rd. General Elphinstone decided to surrender, and the Afghans promised an escort to the troops on their way to Jellalabad. The

¹ Afterwards Sir Alexander Burnes.

² Afterwards Sir Henry Pottinger.

British force started on January 6th, but by the 13th four thousand troops and twelve thousand camp-followers had been murdered or had perished from the cold, only one man and Doctor Bryden getting through to Jellalabad. The married people and Elphinstone gave themselves up to Akbar Khan as hostages for the lives of the others, but all in vain.

Sir Robert Sale is holding out in Jellalabad, General Nott is defending Candahar, and Colonel Palmer, Ghuznee, but these places must be relieved and the women saved. Meanwhile, as some security for his good behaviour, we have possession of the wife and children of Akbar Khan, as well as his father, but the bloodthirsty ruffian may be indifferent to their fate.

March 4th.—I dined with the St. Aulaires, and went with them to the French play.

March 15th.—The St. Aulaires took me to the Italian Opera.

May 7th.—The Queen gave a *bal costumé* at Buckingham Palace, to which I was invited. The dresses were for the most part superb, and amongst them that of the Duke of Devonshire was very effective. He wore the Court dress of a nobleman in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, consisting of trunk-hose, doublet, and cloak of violet-coloured velvet “richly laced with gold” (as the tailors say in their bills), and ornamented with several thousand pounds’ worth of precious stones, velvet hat with plume of white ostrich feathers, shoes and silk stockings. As a Knight of the

Garter he wore on his cloak the star of the order in diamonds, a splendid jewel, but as the badge had rays, which were only added by Charles I in 1629, it was not strictly correct in the historical sense.

May 19th.—The Duke of Devonshire having appointed me a Deputy-Lieutenant for Derbyshire, I attended a Drawing Room to-day for the first time. In the evening there was a big ball given by the Duke of Wellington at Apsley House, to which I went.

June 6th.—The Harcourts having asked me to stay at St. Leonard's Hill for Ascot Races, I went to the Heath on all four days.

On the Tuesday we were all asked to dine at Windsor Castle, where we sat down one hundred and twenty, and afterwards there was dancing.

June 10th.—Colonel Palmer surrendered Ghuznee, owing to want of water, on March 6th on favourable terms; nevertheless most of the garrison were massacred, and Palmer was tortured, by the treacherous Afghans.

With a relief column from Peshawur, General Pollock, after forcing the Khyber Pass by occupying the hills on each flank, joined hands with Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad on April 16th.

June 16th.—The St. Aulaires gave a large ball at the French Embassy, to which I went.

June 28th.—My sister, Sarah Mary, was married to-day at St. George's, Hanover Square, to Lord Emlyn, eldest son of 1st Earl Cawdor, and at the same time his sister was married to Lord Desart

(3rd Earl). In the afternoon I went to a *déjeuner* given to Her Majesty by the Duke (5th Duke) and Duchess of Buccleuch.

August-September.—I was visiting my relatives at Dorking, Compton Place, St. Leonard's Hill, and Codicote Lodge.

October.—I went to Wolterton near Aylsham, to shoot with Lord Orford (3rd Earl), who, besides being a cousin, had married a sister of my father's first wife, and the two families were great friends. In addition to being full of good stories, Lord Orford was a most amusing man of the "old school," and used to consume enormous quantities of claret without "turning a hair."

He was the writer of the following reply to an invitation to him to become President of the Norwich Bible Society :—

"SIR,—I am surprised and annoyed by the contents of your letter, surprised because my well-known character should have exempted me from such an application, and annoyed because it obliges me to have even this communication with you. I have long been addicted to the gaming-table—I have lately taken to the Turf—I fear I frequently blaspheme—but I have never distributed religious tracts. All this was well known to you and your Society; notwithstanding which you think me a fit person for your President! God forgive your hypocrisy! I would rather live in the land of sinners than with such saints.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"ORFORD."

November 2nd. — General Nott destroyed Ghuznee on September 6th, carried off the Gates of Somnauth, and arrived at Cabul on September 17th. Meanwhile Pollock left Jellalabad in August, defeated Akbar Khan and sixteen thousand Afghans at Tezeen on September 13th, and entered Cabul on 16th. The prisoners had been well treated, and were rescued on September 17th. The great Bazaar at Cabul is to be blown up as partial retribution, and the army is to be at once withdrawn.

November 4th.—A treaty of peace with China was signed at Nanking on August 26th, and by it we get the island of Hong-Kong at the mouth of the Canton River. The Chinese have always kicked against the importation of opium sent over by our merchants in India, and three years ago, finding the illicit traffic still going on, the Peking Government sent Commissioner Lin to Canton to stop it. He imprisoned our agent, and only released him on condition of having twenty thousand chests of opium destroyed, and was otherwise rather arbitrary, so Captain Elliot, our agent, sent to India for the fleet. Meanwhile other causes of trouble occurred at Canton, including an attempt by means of fire-ships to burn all the English shipping in the river. Commodore Bremer and General Burrell captured the island of Chusan, near the mouth of the Yangtze River on July 5, 1840, and then went north to the mouth of the Pei-ho to ask for direct negotiations with the Central Government, but in September

they were referred to Canton. With much difficulty a treaty was made in January, 1841, but it was disallowed in London, and Sir Henry Pottinger was sent out to supersede Elliot.

Pending his arrival, an assault upon an English boat led to the destruction of the Bogue Forts, and the fleet and troops went up to Canton, which was surrounded on May 23rd. Peking was still very defiant, so Sir Hugh Gough (afterwards Viscount Gough) attacked and took Canton in August. Pottinger arrived on August 9th, Amoy was taken at the end of the month, and so were Chusan (which had been given up), Chinhai, and Ning-po during September and October.

During last spring the Chinese made some efforts to recover the towns they had lost, wherefore our forces entered the River Yangtze, destroyed the forts containing 360 serviceable guns, and were just about to assault Nanking, the southern capital, on August 13th, when the Chinese Government gave way and made peace. By the Treaty of Nanking, signed on August 26th last, we got the following conditions.—

1. An indemnity for the opium destroyed.
2. The discharge of debts due to British merchants by Chinamen.
3. A war indemnity.
(Making twenty-one million dollars in all.)
4. Amoy, Canton, Fuchan, Ning-po, and Shanghai to be made open ports.
5. The island of Hong-Kong is ceded to us in perpetuity.

6. All British prisoners to be released by the Chinese.

7. All correspondence between the two Powers is to be conducted on a footing of perfect equality.

The last condition will do away with the Chinese habit of using insulting and derogatory expressions concerning the British Monarch and his representatives, and also their custom (which seems childish enough) of making use in their correspondence with our Minister of expressions, characters, and forms of writing which indicate (to the Chinese) that the recipient is of inferior status to the writer.

November 12th.—My brother Charles being an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, I went to stay with him for a few days.

November 15th.—I went to Codicote for a few days' hunting with my brother Freddy, and on returning to London I went several times to the Opera to hear Miss Kemble sing in "Semiramide," "Somnambula," &c., &c.

December, January, February.—During these three months I stayed a good deal at Codicote, and had many a good day fox-hunting. But I was not out on the occasion of the celebrated run of December 26th, which is immortalized in this ode by Mr. William Reid, of "The Node."

THE HERTFORDSHIRE HOUNDS.

December 26, 1842.

It rained cats and dogs and the wind whistled keen
As I jogged with the hounds on to Cheverill's Green,

And there found a lot of good men met together
In spite of the distance and merciless weather.
See Billy¹ from Latimer full of mince-pie,
And Brand² in a buggy and Lloyd³ in a fly,
And Freddy⁴ on Rocket determined to ride,
With his boots well put on, and his neckcloth well tied,
And Locksley's lean squire,⁵ who ambitious of note
Has d——d the expense and put on his best coat.
See Drake Garrard⁶ and chivalrous Dyer,⁷
Evangelical Wade⁸ and that terrible flyer
Kensworth's Lord,⁹ all in green on his wonderful horse.
Never mind, let him rest, we shall find in his gorse.
See Lionel Longlegs¹⁰ and Henry the Bold¹¹
And Beau¹² with fine pins and a waistcoat all gold.
The honest black squire¹³ too on Mushroom advancing
With his bright-looking child¹⁴ who loves riding and
dancing,
And steady old Bingham¹⁵ on nag nearly white,
Who, wherever a fox goes, is sure to be right.
And good-hearted Grimston,¹⁶ who always is going.
See Kinder¹⁷ the brown, in lanes riding knowing,

¹ Mr. William Cavendish, afterwards 2nd Lord Chesham.

² Mr Thomas Brand, afterwards 22nd Lord Dacre (the master).

³ Mr. Lloyd, Governor of the Bank of England.

⁴ Mr. Frederick Cavendish, of Codicote Lodge.

⁵ Mr. Robert Deering, of Locksley Warren.

⁶ Mr. Drake Garrard, of Lammer Park.

⁷ Mr. Dyer.

⁸ Reverend Mr. Wade.

⁹ Mr. Hamilton, of Kensworth.

¹⁰ Mr. Lionel Ames, of The Hide.

¹¹ Mr. Henry Ames, of The Hide.

¹² Mr. Charles Beauclerk, of St. Albans.

¹³ Reverend Moore-Halsey, of Gaddensden Park.

¹⁴ Miss Moore-Halsey, of Gaddensden Park.

¹⁵ Mr. Bingham.

¹⁶ Lord Grimston, afterwards 2nd Earl of Verulam.

¹⁷ Mr. Kinder, of Kempton Bottom Farm.

And blackbooted desperate Horne,¹ fond of staggings,
Who don't go amiss were it not for his bragging.
Colonial Blackwood,² who stands six foot three,
The best of the big ones (between you and me),
And Reid³ and George Master⁴ and Charles Paris⁵ came,
With twenty more men 'twere tedious to name.
For'ard on to the gorse! and a hundred bold fellows,
Who take their oaths to ride hard and feel jealous,
Look out for a start, nor have waited a minute
For the fox leaves the gorse 'ere the hounds are well in it.
"Tally Ho!" cries the Squire, "and, gentlemen, pray
Give 'em room, let them get away." And away
Broke the pack well laid on to a promising scent,
And the Deil take the hindermost, on, onward we went.
But short was the scurry, for twisting and turning
The fox ran too short, and a scent we thought burning
Scarce served us with picking to hold on the line,
And men began thinking of days of "Lang Syne"
When oft our fond hopes and ambition were lost.
"But hold them on, Boxall,⁶ the country is good,
We're forty-five minutes from Deadmondsey Wood,
And should the kind goddess of hunting determine
We're to get near our fox, we'll demolish the vermin."
The goddess hath heard, and on Dunstable Downs,
Mr. Reynard jumps up in the midst of the hounds.
Hurrah! for the brave, who scream wildly and rush
In maniac frenzy (the hounds at his brush).
Hurrah for the fox! for he's broken away,
And every man rides—we shall have a rare day.
Now catch 'em who can, see they're three fields ahead,
Nought serves but a hunter and pretty well bred.
"Now get away and never look for weak places,"
Screams Brand as the first twenty minutes he races

¹ Mr. Horne.

² Mr. Arthur Blackwood, of the Colonial Office.

³ Mr. William Reid, of The Node.

⁴ Mr. George Masters, of Marschal's Wick.

⁵ Mr. Charles Paris, of King Street, London.

⁶ Mr. Boxall (the huntsman).

And sails as his custom in number one flight,
The left column leading and Freddy the right.
Deering goes like a bird and ne'er stops to take snuff,
Horne gallops and jumps and will ne'er cry "enough."
And Blackwood is there and so is Charles Paris,
And Reid holds a place which at least pretty fair is.
And now over Whipsnade's broad common we swing
With scarce time to cry "What a beautiful thing!"
Through Deadmondsey's covert we rattle like smoke,
Still fly and still take all our fences in stroke.
Pointing onward to Beechwood¹ and never go in it
Tho' our fox, ten to one, had been safe could he win it,
And the best fifty minutes that ever was seen
Beheld its first check upon Cheverill's Green.
But Prompter has hit it, we're at it once more,
Our stout fox is on and the scent rather fails.
Now open the gate 'stead of smashing the rails.
Now Wanderer try! see it's all down the lane.
One scream from old Boxall, we have it again
And carry it on at a fair hunting pace
To Flampstead and check. Here Brand's anxious face
Tells his hope fast declining, increasing his fear.
But hark! a view halloa not distant we hear,
And a voice of a friend the intelligence brings
That our fox has just crept into Northfield long springs
Where after he'd doubled and twisted some time
We sang his "Who Whoop," and so ends my long rhyme.

1843

January 31st.—Mr. Edward Drummond, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, was walking down Whitehall on the 21st, when he was fatally shot by a man named M'Naghten. He lingered until the 25th, and was buried to-day at Charlton, near Woolwich, which, oddly enough, is also the burial

¹ Sir John Sebright's Park.

place of Mr. Spencer Perceval, the Prime Minister who was murdered by Bellingham in 1812.

[At his trial, in March, M'Naghten was let off on a plea of insanity, the evidence for which was very thin. The Queen's comment upon this plea is very apt, for she said there is a vast difference between the insanity in which a man does not know what he is doing and the insanity in which a man deliberately buys a pistol and tracks his victim to find an opportunity of murdering him.]

March 24th.—I was at a ball at the French Embassy last night, and my sister, Lady Emlyn, stayed there till late, and early this morning her first child was born.

Lady Louisa de Horsey, the great friend of my parents and of us all, died this morning. She was the daughter of the 1st Earl of Stradbroke, and married Mr. Spencer Kilderbee, who took the name of De Horsey. [Adeline Louisa, her daughter, afterwards married Lord Cardigan, and secondly the Conde di Lancastre.]

April 20th.—Sir Charles Napier has captured Hyderabad, and it is thought this will end the war in Sind. The Ameers were the chiefs of three Baluchi tribes, who owned the Lower Indus territory. In spite of treaties they were not very friendly to us in 1838, and in consequence some British troops had been quartered upon them at their expense. In September last Lord Ellenborough (1st Earl) sent them a new treaty, by which we were to get Kurrachi and a strip of land on each bank of the Indus, instead of the subsidy irregu-

larly provided by the Ameers, who signed this new instrument most reluctantly. Immediately afterwards they assaulted the Hyderabad Residency, but Major Outram, with only 100 men, succeeded in holding it against 7,500 Baluchis, and then got away in safety. Sir Charles Napier made a wonderful march across the desert and routed the enemy on February 17th at Meanee, whence he moved upon Hyderabad.

May 4th.—H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex died at Kensington Palace on April 21st, and was buried at Kensal Green to-day.

May 24th.—The will of Richard Arkwright, son of the inventor of the spinning frame, has been proved. The property being sworn to exceed one million, the duty comes to fifteen thousand pounds, the utmost that could be charged, although the whole estate is said to be worth seven and a half millions.

May 26th.—The Duchess of Northumberland (wife of 3rd Duke) gave a big ball at Northumberland House, Charing Cross.

May 31st–June 2nd.—I saw Cotherston win the Derby and Poison the Oaks.

June 8th.—The Duke of Cumberland (King of Hanover) arrived in London and took up his residence at Ambassador's Court, St. James's Palace. He had been asked to come and be godfather to the Princess Alice, who was christened on the 5th, but failed to keep the appointment.

June 12th.—I attended Ascot races from St. Leonard's Hill, and the weather was beautiful.

I saw Ralph win the Gold Cup, and on the 16th I went back to London for Lady Salisbury's¹ ball in Arlington Street.

June 22nd.—The King and Queen of the Belgians came over on a visit to the Queen.

June 28th.—The Duke of Cambridge's daughter, Princess Augusta, was married to the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Strelitz to-day at Buckingham Palace.

July 1st.—A fatal duel took place at Camden Town between Lieut.-Colonel Fawcett, 55th Regiment, and his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Munro of the Blues, over a family money affair. [Fawcett was shot in the chest and died on the 3rd. A verdict of wilful murder was returned against Munro and three others. The trial took place on August 31st. Munro and his second, Grant, did not appear; Mr. Gulliver, the doctor, was discharged, and Colonel Fawcett's second, Guddy, was found not guilty. Munro fled the country, and, I believe, served for some years in the Austrian Army.]

July 3rd.—Colonel Ellison, a friend of mine, met with a dramatic end to-day. He was on parade in Hyde Park with his regiment, the 1st Grenadier Guards, and was apparently in the best of health and spirits. He had just given the command "Present arms!" when he fell from his horse dead. This took place in presence of his daughter, who had been talking to her father a few minutes before his sudden seizure. Colonel Ellison was a Waterloo veteran with thirty-six

¹ Wife of 2nd Marquess.

years' service. At the coroner's inquest the jury brought in the curious verdict "that the deceased died by the visitation of God"!

July 7th.—To-night I was at the Russian Embassy, at the corner of Hayhill and Dover Street, for Baron and Baroness Brunnow's ball. I hear the Duke of Cumberland has made himself as disagreeable as possible during his unnecessarily long visit, in order to show his anger at being supplanted by his niece, Queen Victoria.

July 19th.—By invitation of the directors of the Great Western Railway I went down to Bristol in Prince Albert's special train and saw H.R.H. christen and launch H.M.S. *Great Britain*.

August 28th.—I have been staying with the Sloane-Stanleys at Paultons and the Drummonds at Cadland, and to-day we went, a large party, to Calshot Castle, at the mouth of Southampton Water, to see the Queen and Prince Albert pass by on their way to Ryde, where they visited Lady Catherine Harcourt, afterwards going over to France to visit the King of the French at Tréport. When the Queen arrived at the embarkation place it was raining heavily, and, there not being overhead cover to the gangway of the new Royal yacht *Victoria and Albert*, the members of the Southampton Corporation gallantly stripped off their scarlet gowns and made a dry pathway for Her Majesty.

This visit abroad was of some significance, inasmuch as it was the first time—

1. For nearly one hundred years that an English sovereign had left the kingdom ;

2. That an English monarch had visited a French king since 1520 ;
3. That the Queen visited foreign soil ;
4. An English sovereign had gone abroad without leaving a Council of Regency.

The Duke of Wellington was strongly in favour of the old practice of having a Regency, but there was a considerable diversity of opinion, and eventually the case was submitted to legal luminaries, who said it was not necessary to have a Council.

September 3rd.—My cousin, William Cavendish,¹ having gone shares with me in the hire of a yacht named *The Traveller*, 26 tons, with a crew of two men and a boy, for a cruise to the Channel Islands, we left Ryde in the afternoon of the 1st, but owing to calm weather we did not make Alderney until to-day. All day we shifted about with the tide on the east side of the island, as our skipper had come this side with the intention of getting into Longy, but he could not find his way. We amused ourselves by searching the island through telescopes, but there must have been some dreadfully fatal epidemic amongst the celebrated cattle, for we could only see one cow !

September 5th.—On the night of the 3rd there was a thick fog, which alarmed the crew as to our position, and very rightly so ; for when it cleared at 7 a.m. on the 4th we found ourselves close to some nasty-looking rocks, but we got safely to St. Peter's, in Guernsey, where we have spent two days in seeing the country.

¹ Afterwards 2nd Baron Chesham.

September 6th.—We got to St. Heliers, in Jersey, this morning, and as our boat had to have her keel cleaned, we drove into the country, which is very pretty, in order to occupy the time. As no fire is allowed on vessels in the harbour, we bought a cold dinner to take on board with us.

September 9th.—Getting under weigh at 4 a.m. on the 7th, we passed Sark, and when approaching Alderney we found we were nearing the Casquettes Rocks. As our men did not know the coast, we made signals to a small fishing boat, and the owner kindly came on board us. He piloted us through the "Passage du Singe," or "the Swinge," which is extremely dangerous, as there are sunken rocks in every direction, more especially one called "Noir Puta," or "Black Peter," which, being just below the surface, is never seen. Eventually we anchored in the Bay of Bray on the west of Alderney. There is a sunken rock in the middle of this bay, to which we heard a buoy is some day to be attached. Perhaps when they have done that they will put a lighthouse on the island, for it does not possess one, in spite of its dangerous coast and strong currents. We found the skipper (and owner) of *The Traveller* was licensed as a pilot only to the westward, and therefore had no right to take us across to the Islands, and for doing so we might have prosecuted him. Moreover, he had only once been to Alderney, and that was many years ago when he was a boy, hence his ignorance of the coast and the grave danger we thereby ran of shipwreck. However, we safely fetched

up at Ryde on the 8th, after a most enjoyable cruise.

September 27th.—In company with Andrew John Drummond I embarked at the Tower Stairs on the 20th on board the steamer *John Bull* bound for Hamburg, and at the Nore we passed upwards of one hundred vessels entering the river with all sail set, which formed a beautiful picture.

From Hamburg we drove to call on a Mr. Ross, whose country seat, Luiseberg, was about thirty miles distant, in Denmark, or rather Holstein. Being a friend of Drummond, he very kindly asked us to stay the night, and his daughter, who possessed a magnificent voice, sang to us. King Christian VIII of Denmark had paid a visit to Luiseberg the week before, and stayed so late that he kept the garrison of a fortress some distance off waiting under arms from 6 p.m. to 4 a.m. ! This so infuriated the soldiers that when at length His Majesty did arrive they pelted him with stones !

Numerous fresh houses were springing up to replace those destroyed in the great fire of Hamburg in 1842, and the city ramparts were being turned into boulevards and gardens. A curious custom is observed here when a house is ready for the roofing. The owner has to stand treat to the workmen, who spend the day in drinking, the proceedings being further enlivened by the strains of a band of music.

September 28th.—We left by steamer for Lüneburg, where we hired two riding-horses to take

us to see the manœuvres of the "Tenth Corps of the German Confederate Army." We found here General Sir William Tuyll, who made us write our names on the King of Hanover, and introduced us to General Halkett of the Hanoverian Army, who was most civil to us.

Luneberg is a curious old town, and some of the houses, built in the Domestic Gothic style, have their windows decreasing in number according to the storey; thus on the ground floor there may be six windows in front, while on the top floor there may be only one.

As the following "swells" were, amongst others, staying in the town for the operations, hotel accommodation was somewhat at a premium: King of Prussia, Emperor of Russia, Grand Duke of Oldenburg, Grand Duke of Mecklenberg, Duke of Brunswick, Prince of Hesse, Duke of Wellington, Duke of Beaufort.¹

September 29th.—We started in the early morning for the manœuvres, but Drummond's horse was so bad with asthma that he took it home after a short experience of it. Mine, though better in the wind, had but one eye; nevertheless I rode about all day with the Staff, comprising about one hundred and fifty officers of all ranks and nations, and I thus had ample opportunity of comparing the beauty (?) of my Deputy-Lieutenant uniform with that of numerous others.

Lieutenant-General Halkett was in command of the corps, numbering about twenty-eight thousand men, comprising—

¹ 7th Duke.

The King of Hanover's troops,
The Duke of Brunswick's ditto,
The Duke of Holstein-Lauenberg's ditto,
The Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin's
ditto,
The Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Strelitz's
ditto,
The Grand Duke of Oldenberg's ditto ; also
The Hanseatic ditto.

[So great have been the changes in Germany since 1843, that these titles now sound almost mediæval.—1890.]

I witnessed the day's fighting, in which some riflemen and a few guns held a position in which they were attacked and driven back from by the remainder of the troops. I had some conversation with the Colonel commanding the riflemen, and he told me he had been all through the Peninsular campaign with the German Legion.

October 3rd.—Failing to procure better horses, we gave up the manœuvres in disgust, and decided to move on to Magdeburg, where we arrived at midnight on the 30th. I had often heard that certain foreigners picked their teeth with their forks at dinner, but I had never seen it done before yesterday, and I also learned a new method of cleaning a table-fork ; that is, by wiping it with the cork of the wine-bottle !

We went to the Cathedral to see the tomb of Editha, daughter of Edmund King of the Anglo-Saxons and wife of the Emperor Otho I. From the top of the tower we had a good and surrepti-

tious view of the fortifications, which are immensely strong.

To-day we journeyed to Berlin.

October 8th.—We went over to Potsdam and visited the Royal Palaces, gardens, and conservatories. Whilst wandering about in the Sans Souci gardens we came to a large building with its door wide open, so we walked in, but it was soon evident we had made a mistake, for we came upon one lady who was accompanying herself on the piano, and met another who seemed very astonished to see us. We hastily retreated, and afterwards found we had blundered into the dwelling-house of the Ladies-in-Waiting.

October 11th.—We visited Charlottenberg, the palace built by King Frederick I for his Queen Sophia Charlotte, daughter of our King George I. The late Queen Louisa and the late King of Prussia are buried in the grounds, but the monument to the latter is still in the hands of the architects.

October 12th.—The museum in the Lustgarten occupied us for several days with its statuary and pictures, and that which pleased me most was the antique bronze statue of a boy in the attitude of prayer which was found in the bed of the River Tiber.

The Egyptian Museum and the Kunst Kammer, or Cabinet of Art, contained some splendid specimens of artistic work.

We also visited the Royal apartments, which are very fine, but the silver-gilt plate exhibited greatly required cleaning.

In Mr. Wagener's collection of pictures by modern artists we saw the best which are to be found in Berlin.

The Brandenburg Gate, with its Car of Victory, and the statues of the Marshals, forms the most splendid portal in Europe.

At the Arsenal we saw nearly one thousand stand of colours, mostly French, which were taken by the Prussians from Paris in 1815.

We have dined twice with Lord (11th Earl) and Lady Westmoreland at the British Embassy, and enjoyed some excellent music, for Count and Countess Rossi (formerly Mlle Sontag, the great singer), as well as M. and Mme Viardot (formerly Pauline Garcia), were among the guests, and these two ladies sang duets.

October 15th.—We left Berlin on the 13th by the midday train, but not till 9.30 p.m. did we arrive at Leipzig, where we put up at the Hôtel du Bavière, which was very full of visitors owing to the Michaelmas Fair. Three times a year—at Easter, at Michaelmas, and at the beginning of the new year—a fair is held, and it lasts for three weeks. People come for it from all parts of Europe, and in the booths, which are erected in the streets, the chief commerce is the sale of books. Amongst the visitors to it were a great number of Jews of all nations, some with immense beards and dressed in long silk gowns.

We went up to the Observatory on the top of the Castle of Pleissenberg, whence we had a view of the site of the battle fought between Napoleon

and the Allies on the 16th, 17th, and 18th October, 1813, the longest and bloodiest fight of the century, and one which decided the fate of Europe. We then went into a garden belonging to a Monsieur Gerhard, and were shown the spot where Prince Poniatowski was drowned after the battle. The River Elster is very narrow here, and was so choked up with bodies of men and horses, dead, dying, or struggling to get across, that the wretched horse of the brave Pole, whose own charger had been killed, was unable to swim, and its rider, already twice wounded, was smothered in the throng, although Marshal Macdonald, being better mounted, passed the river in safety at almost the same place. Poniatowski's body was found four days afterwards, and on the spot the soldiers of his regiment erected a monument.

The neighbourhood of Leipzig is famous for larks, of which we had plenty for breakfast and dinner.

October 15th.—Yesterday having been the last day of the fair, the town to-day was nearly clear of booths. We inspected the Auerbach Cellar, or wineshop, in which Doctor Faustus is said to have performed his feats, and where Goethe has laid one of the scenes of his tragedy.

We arrived at the Hôtel du Saxe in Dresden this evening, having left our baggage, which was all numbered, at the station, but very shortly it was brought to us at the hotel by the railway porters, thus saving us the usual bother and annoyance of claiming and removing it ourselves.

October 16th.—We went to the Picture Gallery, which contains the finest collection in Germany, although many of the pictures are much damaged by damp and neglect. Amongst the 1857 pictures here are masterpieces by Andrea del Sarto, Caracci, Guido, Canaletti, Domenichino, Holbein, Rubens, Murillo, Titian, and Coreggio, but the best is the “Madonna di San Sisto” by Raphael, which was executed by him a few years before his death, and was bought from a convent at Piacenza for eight thousand pounds.

In the afternoon we went to the Historical Museum in the “Swinger,” where we saw many suits of armour, including those of Edward the Black Prince, of the Elector Maurice, of Gustavus Adolphus, of John Sobieski, and of Augustus the Strong; also a suit by Benevenuto Cellini engraved with the labours of Hercules. Martin Luther’s sword, Peter the Great’s cocked hat, the boots which Napoleon wore at the Battle of Dresden, we also saw; likewise the stuffed charger of Augustus II, with a tail 24 feet long and a mane 16 feet in length.

October 17th.—To-day we made up a party to visit the “Green Vaults” in the ground floor of the Royal Palace, which contain probably the richest collection of jewellery, rare objects, and exquisite carvings of any monarch. The Electors of Saxony were formerly immensely wealthy, and spent large sums in buying every kind of valuable object. Amongst this profusion we noted “The Fall of Lucifer and the Wicked Angels,” forming ninety-

two figures carved out of one piece of ivory ; two watches made at Nuremberg in 1500 ; “ The Court of the Great Mogul (Aurungzebe),” which occupied the artist Dinglinger eight years in the making, cost 58,400 thalers, and comprises 138 figures of enamelled pure gold, whose costumes, attitudes, and expressions are minute and beautiful in their detail ; the largest sardonyx in the world ; a green diamond weighing 160 carats, and countless other jewels.

October 18th.—In the Japanese Palace to-day we went over the museum of antiquities, which ranks next after that in the Glyptothek at Munich, and also over the porcelain collection. This contains specimens of Dresden porcelain of every period from the first made, which was of a reddish colour, also some very valuable Chinese, Japanese, Sèvres, and Wedgwood ware.

October 20th.—In the Royal Library, which contains 300,000 volumes, 2,800 MSS., and a large collection of maps, we saw this morning some very curious writings from Mexico, supposed to contain the genealogies of the gods and kings of that country.

October 21st.—I went up to the back of the village of Rächnitz to see the fine view of Dresden and also the monument to General Moreau on the spot where he was mortally wounded in the Battle of Dresden, August 27, 1813, both his legs being carried away by a cannon-ball.

In the afternoon I went to the Cabinet of Engravings in the “Swinger,” which contains many rare and curious prints beautifully arranged. The

superintendent showed me one of Henry IV of France, which, he said, was rare, and he was much interested when I told him my father had another copy.

October 22nd.—We embarked on the steamer *Bohemia* at 6 a.m., and the morning being frosty, the decks were covered with ice. We found that the captain and engineers were all Englishmen. The scenery on the Elbe was very fine as we passed Pilsnitz, the Saxon royal summer palace, the fortress of Koenigstein, and the Castle of Schreckenstein. Before reaching Tetschen we entered Austria, but the Customs officers were not very strict, as they said it was too cold to be so.

October 23rd.—Disembarking at Leitmeritz at 2 a.m., we drove to Prague, where we arrived about 6 a.m. very cold.

October 24th.—We engaged a *valet de place*, who told us he had formerly served in the 60th Rifles, and we saw the “Alte Rathaus,” or old Town Hall, which was being rebuilt, except the Gothic tower, which dates from 1400 A.D. The square in which it stands is remarkable for the scenes of violence and bloodshed which have taken place there. Then we crossed the Moldau by the great bridge, the longest in Germany, which was begun in 1358 and finished in 1507. Amongst the 56 statues which adorn it is one of St. John Nepomuk, who is said to have been thrown into the river from this bridge by order of King Wenceslaus in 1383 because the saint would not reveal to him what the Queen had confessed to him. The spot is marked

by a cross with five stars, in commemoration of the flames which miraculously flickered on the water over the spot where his body was discovered three days later. This saint has become in all Roman Catholic countries the patron of bridges. His body reposes in a crystal and silver coffin in the Cathedral of St. Vitus, and his shrine contains thirty-seven hundredweight of solid silver.

We next went to the Hradschin, or Palace of the Kings of Bohemia, which has not been visited by the Austrian Court since the coronation of the Emperor here in 1836. It contains 800 rooms, and the Spanish Hall, or great ballroom, is the largest and finest I ever saw, being 60 feet wide and nearly 200 feet long. From the window of the Council Chamber two nobles were thrown out owing to some unpopular edict which they had issued in the Emperor's name in 1718. Although 80 feet to the ground, they were not killed, and their secretary, who was thrown out after them, begged their pardon for having fallen on them!

On the way home we walked through the Jewish town, a labyrinth of narrow, dirty streets swarming with people. This colony of Jews is said to have been settled here before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the chief synagogue, said to be 900 years old, is horribly dirty, for it is considered sacrilege to clean or repair it.

November 7th.—Leaving Prague by coach in the evening of the 26th, we spent two cold and uncomfortable nights on the road, and at 9 a.m. on the 28th reached Vienna, where we have remained

doing the "sights" of the city, notably the Ambras Museum, with its collections of armour, strange old portraits, Tyrolean curiosities, jewellery and plate (including the celebrated salt-cellar made by Benvenuto Cellini for Francis I); the Church of the Augustines, with its beautiful monument by Canova to the Archduchess Christina of Saxe-Teschen; the Imperial Picture Gallery, the Galleries of Prince Liechtenstein and Prince Esterhazy (with works by rare Spanish masters); and the Arsenal (where the head of the Vizier Kara Mustapha is kept). I also dined three times at the British Embassy with Sir Robert Gordon, and went to the opera and to the theatre twice.

Prince Paul Esterhazy having called on me the day before yesterday and asked us to go down to his place in Hungary for a few days, we drove down to-day to Schloss Pottendorf, which is twenty miles from Vienna, and found there, with others, Prince Nicholas, the eldest son, and his wife, who was Lady Sarah Villiers, my cousin.

The Schloss is comfortable and beautifully furnished. In one of its two very old towers used to assemble the members of a disloyal conspiracy, at the head of which was a brother-in-law of the then Prince Esterhazy, who discovered the plot. The conspirator was beheaded, and all his descendants were obliged to wear a red cord round their necks in the Emperor's presence, to denote that there had been a traitor in the family. The late Emperor ordered them not to wear it any longer, but far from being pleased at the removal of this token

of disgrace to their family, they were sorry to part with it, as it was a great ornament to their uniforms.

November 8th.—We went out shooting to-day, five guns in all. About three hundred beaters in a semicircle advanced with us, at the sound of a horn, and in the course of a drive of three miles we killed over three hundred hares. Afterwards we drove some woods and got about one hundred pheasants and partridges.

November 10th.—Yesterday it rained or snowed all day, and to-day it was nearly as bad. We went out with Prince Nicholas's staghounds, which met at Brodensdorf, about twelve miles off, my host having mounted me on a thoroughbred mare called Molly. Prince Nicholas turned out in scarlet with the Belvoir Hunt button, out of compliment to Drummond, who is a grandson of the Duke of Rutland. We had a good run of thirty-five minutes, and took the deer in the village of Margarita, near the Neusiedler See, a salt-water lake. The country was very deep, but there were no fences, only a nasty muddy brook. We had to ride through several vineyards, to which the English huntsman objected because the vines scratched his boot tops.

November 11th.—We drove back to Vienna and continued our sightseeing for three weeks longer.

December 5th.—During my second stay in Vienna I visited the Cathedral of St. Stephen, the collection of engravings belonging to the Archduke Charles, the cabinet of minerals and jewels, and

the Imperial Library. I dined twice with Sir Robert Gordon at the Embassy, and also with the Esterhazys, where I met the Grand Duke of Nassau, who had already eaten one dinner at 2 p.m. that day with the Archduke Charles. I went one night to a party at the French Embassy, and on another to a masked ball at the Imperial Redouten Saal, after dining with the Esterhazys, who also turned up later at the ball. I also saw two French plays and went ten times to the Opera, Sir Robert having very kindly given the use of his box to my friend Drummond and myself. One evening I had been for some time sitting alone in the box, when a foreign gentleman came in and asked me in French whether Sir Robert was coming, as he wanted to see him. I told him I did not know, whereupon, saying he would wait, he sat down and talked to me. I noticed that people on the other side of the house were looking at us, and I learned what the attraction was when Sir Robert shortly afterwards came in and introduced me to Prince Metternich, the Austrian statesman. The following is said to be the origin of the name of Metternich: In one of the great battles of the fifteenth century the Emperor of Germany saw an entire regiment take to flight except one man, who stood his ground and fought gallantly till he fell covered with wounds. The Emperor inquired his name, and was told it was Metter. That night at supper, talking of the guilty regiment, the Emperor said, "They all fled but Metter-*nicht*." The family of Metter adopted the

additional monosyllable, and hence the name Metternich.

Drummond and I had met at dinner, at the British Embassy, Ferdinand St. John,¹ and he suggested to us that we should go down to Pardubitz, in Bohemia, which is the Melton Mowbray of Austria, for some hunting and shooting. He was going there himself, and said he would introduce us at the Casino and to the society of the neighbourhood. So we left Vienna yesterday afternoon by train, and reaching Brunn at 11 p.m., we hired a britska and post-horses and left about midnight, arriving in Bessau this morning. At "The Golden Sun" we found the landlord's daughter playing one of Strauss's waltzes on the pianoforte, while the village priest accompanied her on the violin, but his Reverence bolted when we entered. After a very cold journey we reached Pardubitz at 8½ p.m., and found St. John had taken lodgings for us at "The Grape Inn;" he told us most people were going to shoot to-morrow with Prince Auersperg at his country house Slatina, but Count Clam was taking his harriers out.

December 6th.—Having got some horses from Mr. Holmes, who is trainer to Prince Trautmansdorf, we went out with the harriers: only a small field, consisting of Prince Trautmansdorf, Counts Clam and Auersperg besides our two selves. The country was very open but cut up by brooks, some of which were rather wide; the pack was

¹ Second son of 4th Viscount Bolingbroke.

very fast and good looking, and the huntsman and whips were English.

After dining at the Casino, I found at my lodgings the following note: "Le Prince François de Liechtenstein en remerciant M. Cavendish et M. Drummond de la lettre qu'ils ont bien voulu lui envoyer de la part du Prince Esterhazy, engage ces Messieurs, si cela peut les amuser, de faire une assez jolie chasse à tir, de se rendre demain à Slatina, maison de campagne du Prince Auersperg, qui sera enchanté de les y recevoir et espère qu'ils voudront bien dîner chez lui après la chasse, ils y trouveront réunis toute la société d'ici. On se réunit à dix heures, il faudrait partir d'ici un peu avant neuf heures. Si ces Messieurs se rendent à l'invitation du Prince Auersperg il y aura une voiture qui viendra les chercher à huit heures trois quarts, en cas qu'ils préfèrent de chasser avec les harriers ils se trouvent tout à fait à leur disposition."

Such an offer was not to be sneezed at, so we thanked the Prince for his kindness and said we would be ready for the carriage.

December 7th.—We reached Slatina at 10.30 and found the party just sitting down to their *déjeuner à la fourchette*, consisting of Prince Maurice of Nassau, Prince Auersperg, Counts Kinsky, Auersperg and Thurn, Major Reiter and St. John. We afterwards drove about three miles to a spot where some five hundred beaters, male and female, were assembled, and we had some good sport, killing over three hundred hares and pheasants. After dinner at the château, all the

gentlemen went downstairs to smoke and gamble, leaving the only lady (the Prince's mother) upstairs alone. Later we drove back to Pardubitz.

December 8th.—We went out with Prince Liechtenstein's staghounds, which met about six miles from Pardubitz. The field consisted of yesterday's shooting party with several other men, who only arrived from Vienna early this morning. The hunt servants were well mounted, the hounds good-looking, and everything was done in a style that would do credit to any pack in England. The country is very open, so that with a good scent the hounds go like the wind. There is a great deal of water in every direction, and the River Elbe is near; this often has to be crossed in a run and a few days ago eight hounds were carried down by the stream and drowned. Personally I did not see much of the run, for I got a fall at a large brook, and by the time I had remounted I was hopelessly out of it.

We dined with Prince and Princess Liechtenstein, and our party was made up by Counts Clam and Auersperg and two other men whose names I did not catch. After dinner, Prince and Princess Trautmansdorf, and Princes Gustavus and Rudolf Liechtenstein came in. Prince Liechtenstein is colonel of a hussar regiment quartered at Pardubitz. The Princess is very handsome and Princess Trautmansdorf very pretty. I think these ladies must be most loving wives to stay all the winter in such a place, where the streets are always ankle-deep in mud: there are no walks out of the town

and the country is very open, ugly, and flat in every direction. But with good horses one might have capital fun with the hunting, added to the shooting.

December 10th.—We returned to Vienna and restored to Sir Robert Gordon the guns and rifles which he had lent us for our trip. The rifles he had just had made at Ischl, and they were very good, nicely finished, and only cost four pounds each.

December 13th.—Before starting to return to England I dined the night before last with the Esterhazys, went with them to the Opera and then to a party at the French Embassy, and last night I dined with Sir Robert Gordon. Having bought a carriage to post to Frankfort, I left Vienna at 10 p.m., and after a very cold, frosty night I changed horses about daylight at Mölk, lying beneath the enormous Benedictine monastery which in 1805 supplied Napoleon's army with fifteen thousand gallons of wine for several days, in return for which he confiscated their revenues.

December 17th.—Travelling day and night, I reached Ratisbon in the evening of 14th, and next day I took a hired carriage to visit the Valhalla, about five miles off, on a high hill which commands a fine view of Bavaria and the Tyrolese Alps. This temple of fame, built by the King of Bavaria, is a national monument for Germany, and contains busts and statues of the celebrated men of Germany from Arminius, the conqueror of the Romans, to Blucher and Schwarzenberg. It is built of marble,

but has a very gaudy interior. Returning to Ratisbon, I saw the Cathedral, which is one of the finest Gothic churches in Germany, with a high altar of silver and a monument to Primate Dalberg, by Canova, in alabaster. I had time to visit the Rathhaus and the new vault in his palace built by the present Prince of Thurn and Taxis to contain himself and his family, and left Ratisbon at noon, slept at Neumarkt, bought a little white Spitz dog at Nuremberg, and arrived in Frankfort this afternoon. Gervase Parker Bushe, who is an Attaché at the Legation, came to see me and told me I had been very lucky in finding post-horses ready all the way from Vienna as they were expecting Colonel Townley, one of the Queen's Foreign Service messengers, from there *en route* to England.

December 18th.—This morning Bushe drove me to the Stœdel Museum of pictures and through the Jewish quarter; here in a wretched-looking house lives the grandmother of all the Rothschilds, who, although they have offered to buy her any palace in Europe which she likes to name, refuses to leave her old home. I left my *britska* in charge of the landlord of the Hôtel de Russie with instructions to sell it for me, and went to Mayence by train. I went over the Cathedral, dating from the eleventh century, and admired its monuments and statues. The town was full of soldiers, and the garrison being composed of Austrian and Prussian troops the Governor is chosen alternately from those two countries.

December 22nd.—I left Mayence by steamer at

6 a.m. on the 19th, and, it being very foggy, we had not gone far before we ran into an island in the Rhine. So foggy was it when we got to Coblenz that the captain decided to remain there all night. This did not suit me, so I booked a seat in the diligence for Cologne, leaving at 8 p.m., but I spent a most uncomfortable night, as there were eight others inside, of whom seven were Germans who smoked all night and nearly suffocated me. I continued my journey by way of Aix-la-Chapelle, Malines, Ostend, Calais to Dover, but the railway through Shakespeare's Cliff to Folkestone not being finished I went there by coach and caught the train to London in the evening.

[I had made rather rapid travelling when on the road, so I give the actual times occupied, which compare curiously with those of later times.

Vienna to Linz . . .	posting	about 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ hrs.
Linz to Vilshofen . . .	"	" 14 "
Vilshofen to Ratisbon . . .	"	" 9 "
Ratisbon to Neumarkt . . .	"	" 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Neumarkt to Nuremberg . . .	"	" 4 "
Nuremberg to Emskirchen . . .	"	" 7 "
Emskirchen to Esselbach . . .	"	" 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Esselbach to Frankfort . . .	"	" 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Frankfort to Mayence . . .	train	" 1 "
Mayence to Coblenz . . .	steamer	" 8 "
Coblenz to Cologne . . .	diligence	" 10 "
Cologne to Aix-la-Chapelle . . .	train	" 4 "
Aix-la-Chapelle to Malines . . .	"	" 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Malines to Ostend . . .	"	" 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Ostend to Calais . . .	"	" 11 "
Calais to Dover . . .	steamer	" 3 "
Dover to London . . .	train and coach	" 5 "]

1844

January, February, March.—The greater part of this quarter I have spent in Hertfordshire shooting and foxhunting.

February 28th.—The Mahrattas of Gwalior were defeated by Sir Hugh Gough at Maharajpore, losing fifty-six guns, on December 29th, and on the same day by General Grey at Punniar, losing twenty-five guns. Scindia, the Prince, is a boy, and his step-mother and her paramour rule in his name. The Mahrattas have lately been fractious, and because we are bound by the Treaty of Burhampore, 1804, to keep troops ready to help the Prince, Lord Ellenborough went with an army to act in the interests of the Prince and restore order. He thought he had settled everything, but he then found the Mahratta troops were moving against him, hence these battles. The fort of Gwalior is now ours, and the Mahratta army will be replaced by a British contingent, to be paid for by Scindia.

May.—Peel's Bill to reform the Bank of England was brought in and ultimately passed with difficulty. The Bill provides that the banking and note-issuing departments shall be entirely separate, and the latter may issue notes against securities up to fourteen millions (of which eleven millions is a loan to Government). Any further issue must be against gold actually in the Bank. This will greatly strengthen the position of the Bank in ordinary times, I am told, but I confess I do not understand much about the question.

June 5th.—There was a grand review to-day in

Windsor Great Park under the command of Lord Combermere (1st Viscount). The troops reviewed were 1st Life Guards, two squadrons of the Blues, 17th Lancers, a battery Royal Horse Artillery, a battery Field Artillery, the second battalions of the Grenadier, Coldstream, and Scots Fusilier Guards, and the 47th Regiment. My father commanded the cavalry, and I acted as a galloper to him. When the Royal party, consisting of the Queen, Prince Albert, the Czar of Russia, the King of Saxony, and their suites, approached the line, the Artillery by some mistake began firing a Royal salute, notwithstanding that the orders were that no salute was to be fired until the Queen (who was in a delicate state of health) had left the ground. My father at once sent me at a gallop to tell the officer commanding the Artillery to stop firing. I heard afterwards the Queen was horrified and alarmed, and the Duke of Wellington was so furious that in the hearing of their Majesties he used most appalling language at this disobedience of orders and was with difficulty pacified by them!

The 1st Life Guards trotted past to a tune arranged by their bandmaster from the ballet "*Alma*," which has recently been produced.

[Who could then imagine that the next time Russian officers were to see so large an assemblage of British troops would be at the Battle of the Alma ten years later?]

June 8th.—The Czar Nicholas, the King of Saxony, and Prince Albert were present at an afternoon party given at Chiswick by the Duke



WILLIAM SPENCER CAVEHENDISH

6th Duke of Devonshire

Born 2nd May, 1760. Succeeded his father 2nd July, 1801

Died 17th January, 1838

After 3rd Earl

WILLIAM SPENCER CAVENDISH,
6th Duke of Devonshire.

Born 21st May, 1790. Succeeded his father 29th July, 1811.

Died 17th January, 1858.

After G. Saunders.

of Devonshire to about eight hundred people. I was one of the party, and on my sister Caroline being presented by the Duke to the Czar, I heard His Imperial Majesty exclaim, "*Comme elle ressemble à sa mère,*" referring to my mother, whom His Majesty had much admired when he was here in 1814 with the Allied Sovereigns.

He was much interested to find that the two young ladies whom he had most admired in 1814 were now wives of Cabinet Ministers, namely, Lady Peel, who was Miss Floyd, and Lady Graham, who was Miss Callender.

June 10th.—The Czar of Russia came to England uninvited, and people say he must have some political motive for his hasty visit.

During his visit, finding the wearing of plain clothes would be necessary on certain occasions, the Czar gave an order for some to a London tailor. Some scoundrel of a Pole, bent upon the murder of the Czar, having obtained one of the tailor's business cards, endeavoured by impersonating him to gain admission to the Castle, but his intention having somehow become suspected, he was arrested by the police in time to defeat his murderous intention.

June 15th.—The Government were defeated yesterday over the reduction of the sugar duties, and Sir Robert Peel has told the Queen he will resign.

June 18th.—A vote of confidence in Peel's Ministry has been carried, and he has withdrawn his threatened resignation.

July 13th.—There was a field day of the London Garrison in Hyde Park, during which the advanced portion of the 4th Dragoon Guards under Lord Alfred Churchill, who had been sent down to the Serpentine, were ordered to retire ; but, not doing so fast enough, my father, who commanded the cavalry, sent me to hurry them up. We came back at full gallop, but the gravel-pits near the magazine were being filled in, up to the level of the grass, with rubbish, including liquid mud from the streets, and the hot sun on this had dried a crust. Deceived by this, one of the dragoons galloped on to it, and his horse went in up to its neck. The soldier saved himself by standing up in his saddle, and both were after a considerable time safely extricated from their bath of mud.

July 14th.—We are still on the verge of war with France over the Tahiti business. Our Consul, Mr. Pritchard, has been very badly treated by the French, who are standing very much on their dignity.

Pomare, Queen of Tahiti, twice offered her island to us, and twice we refused, although we told her she could rely upon us for assistance against any other Power. Nevertheless, when Queen Pomare was compelled by the French to place herself under their protection, we raised no objection.

Lately the Queen has been asserting herself, at the instigation of Mr. Pritchard, according to the French allegation. In March last a French war-ship came to the island, Pritchard was arrested, and Tahiti was annexed to France. We have

demanding a disavowal of the annexation, an apology, and an indemnity for Mr. Pritchard. France has refused.

September 5th.—The Tahiti business is settled, France having given way and sent us an apology for an apology!

October 13th.—On the 1st I went to Chatsworth for a week, where I had two days' shooting, and on three afternoons the great fountain called "The Emperor" was made to perform for our entertainment. Thence I went to the Talbot Cliftons, at Lytham, and got five days' very good shooting.

October 14th.—King Louis Philippe to-day concluded his visit to the Queen, his last visit to England having been during the Hundred Days in 1815. When their Majesties (for the Queen went down to see the King embark) arrived at Portsmouth the sea was judged to be too rough for His Majesty to land at Tréport, so it was arranged he should return to London, thence go down to Dover, and there take the steamer. The French Royal party having crossed London to New Cross Station, found the buildings there on fire, and the King had to pick his way to his special train over the hoses of the fire brigade, while several of his suite were left behind in the commotion. The mingled effects in light, shade, and sound caused by the simultaneous fighting of the flames and speeding of the departing King composed a night picture of unusual interest and startling contrasts.

November–December I chiefly spent at Dover with my sister Caroline and my brother George,

who is in the 1st Life Guards. We had our horses down from London and got some very good days with the East Kent Foxhounds.

December 9th.—Princess Sophia, daughter of the Duke of Gloucester and niece of King George III, having died on November 29th at the Ranger's House, Blackheath, was buried to-day in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

December 14th.—There was a terrible scene at Drury Lane Theatre to-night. Clara Webster, one of the best English dancers, was performing as Zuleika, the Royal Slave, in the ballet called "The Revolt of the Harem," and amongst the audience was her mother. In the second act, where the ladies of the harem are bathing, one of the gas-jets under the stage by some mischance caught Miss Webster's flimsy clothing, and in an instant, to our horror, she was in flames. At first she rushed about the stage screaming, but finally ran off to the wing. Here she was seized and thrown down by the carpenter, who extinguished the flames by rolling on her, not without being himself badly burned. [Both were taken to hospital, but on the 17th Miss Webster's sufferings ended in death.]

1845

January.—I was again in Hertfordshire, hunting, shooting, and dancing.

April 9th.—I went to a large dinner party at Devonshire House, and after it there was a great throng.

April 10th.—The Queen held a Drawing Room, to which I went.

May 28th.—I saw Merry Monarch win the Derby.

June 10th.—I went to St. Leonard's Hill for Ascot Races.

June 11th.—This morning I went to see a review of the Blues and Coldstream Guards in the Great Park, and as the former marched past I noticed an officer whose face I did not know. I asked Colonel Bouverie, of the Blues, who was next to me, who the stranger was, when he replied, "Why, don't you know him? It is Horace Pitt,¹ who shaved off his black whiskers and moustachios to appear in the old dress of the Blues at the Queen's *bal pondré* last week."

July 11th.—My father gave a breakfast for about six hundred people at his villa West End Lodge. A thunderstorm broke up the weather, with torrents of rain, so only about two hundred and fifty came, for whom we got up a dance.

October–November.—I was in Scotland travelling in the Western Highlands with my aunt, Lady Caroline Cavendish, and staying with many kind friends and relatives, who, in addition to showing me the beauties of the country, gave me many a good day's shooting and night's dancing. Amongst others I went to the Ruthvens² at Freeland, the Kinnairds³ at Rossie Priory, the Levens⁴ at

¹ 6th and last Baron Rivers.

³ 9th Baron.

² 5th Baron.

⁴ 8th Earl.

Melville House, the Balfours at Balbirnie, and the Mortons¹ at Dalmahoy.

November 7th.—The elopement of my cousin, Adela Villiers, Lady Jersey's third daughter, from her father's house at Brighton with Captain Ibbetson, 11th Hussars, has caused much fluttering in the dovecots of "high society." They left Brighton on the 5th for Gretna Green, where they were married by the blacksmith.

[On November 17th they were again married according to Church of England forms at St. Pancras, London.]

November 9th.—We are again in hot water with those irrepressible Americans, over a disputed boundary in Oregon, which territory has been open to settlement by British and American subjects because the Ashburton Treaty of 1842 did not fix any territorial limits. But the country having become thickly settled, a boundary had to be fixed, and matters were going on amicably enough until Mr. Polk, the new President of the United States, in order to please his democratic friends, became provocative, and he now actually talks of war.

December 13th.—Sir Robert Peel, having been converted to Free Trade, and the Cabinet being hopelessly divided in opinion, resigned on the 5th sooner than face the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Lord John Russell has been sent for by the Queen.

December 29th.—Lord John Russell has failed to

¹ 18th Earl.

form a Ministry, because he cannot do without Lord Grey, who will not take office if the Foreign Office goes to Lord Palmerston, who again will not take any other office. The Court party were greatly relieved at this failure, and Peel resumed office on the 22nd.

1846

December-January.—Christmas and New Year I spent at Wolterton and at Lady Suffield's place, Blickling Hall, and I had some excellent shooting. The party included Lord Burghersh,¹ Lord² and Lady Pollington,³ her sister Lady Dorothy Walpole,³ and Reginald Nevill.⁴

[In 1847 Lady Dorothy married Reginald Nevill.]

February 20th.—News has come from India of two great battles with the Sikhs, who, led by Sirdar Tej Singh, had crossed the Sutlej to invade our territory. The Sikhs are ruled by their Maharajah Duleep Singh, who, being a boy, is under the thumb of his mother. Their army, trained by French officers, veterans of the Napoleonic wars, had been getting very turbulent and out of hand, and had been showing signs of invading British India. Sir Henry Hardinge went to visit the States on the east of the Sutlej as a precaution, but only when the Sikhs had crossed the river did he summon his troops. The Sikhs advanced to Ferozeshah and

¹ Eldest son of 11th Earl of Westmoreland—died 1848.

² Eldest son of 3rd Earl of Mexborough.

³ Daughters of 3rd Earl of Orford.

⁴ Nephew of 2nd Earl of Abergavenny.

Moodkee and invested Ferozepore. They were 60,000 strong, and Sir Hugh Gough met them at Moodkee on December 18th with 20,000 men who had marched 150 miles in six days and 30 on the 18th. The Sikhs were beaten with a loss of 17 guns, and we bivouacked on the field, entrenching a position there on the 19th.

Having joined hands with Sir John Littler at Ferozeshah on the 20th, Gough attacked the enemy's camp on the 21st, and drove them out of it on the 22nd. Forces—British, 16,700 and 69 guns; Sikhs, between 50,000 and 60,000, with 108 guns.

Losses—British, 150 officers and 3,000 men killed and wounded, of whom 1,000 were British. We took 100 guns.

Amongst the casualties on December 22nd was my friend Arthur FitzRoy Somerset, eldest son of Lord FitzRoy Somerset. He was Military Secretary to Sir Henry Hardinge, and was shot in the lungs while gallantly cheering on the men to the attack of the Sikh batteries. [He died from his wound in October of this year.]

March 24th.—We have had another victory over the Sikhs, who retired over the Sutlej after the battle of Ferozeshah, but later on again put across a force of 30,000 men and 75 guns, which moved upon Loodiana, held by General Godby. Sir Harry Smith effected a junction with Godby, and defeated the Sikhs at Aliwal on January 28th with the loss of 65 guns. The British force was only 2,700 cavalry, 7,000 infantry with 32 guns.

March 31st.—The Sikh War appears to be over.

After Aliwal the left bank of the Sutlej was abandoned by the enemy, with the exception of Sobraon and its bridge. Our whole force, numbering 40,000 men with 140 guns, under Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge, whom Sir Harry Smith had joined on February 8th, attacked and stormed Sobraon on the 10th, inflicting a decisive defeat upon the Sikhs, who lost 12,000 men and 65 guns, whilst we had 300 killed and 2,500 wounded.

Sir Henry Hardinge entered Lahore on February 20th, and accepted the submission of the Sikh Government upon conditions which cripple their army. Duleep Singh, the Maharajah, was reinstated, but was told that if fresh trouble occurred it would lead to other arrangements being made.

Prince Waldemar of Prussia, with his suite, was present at all four battles from Moodkee to Sobraon.

May 28th.—Prince Louis Napoleon is in London, having, after six years' imprisonment, escaped from the Castle of Ham, and has returned to his former mistress, Miss Howard. However, as he became the father of two boys by his chamber-maid at Ham, it would seem that the rigour of his confinement was not without some kind of consolation!

June 26th.—Last night the Anti-Corn Law Bill passed the House of Lords without a division, but in the House of Commons, on the second reading of the Protection of Life (Ireland) Bill, the Protectionists, Whigs, and Radicals voted against the Government, who were beaten by 73. This Bill, which originated in the Lords, is highly necessary, owing to the dreadful state of Ireland, where murder

and sedition are the pastimes of the Roman Catholic population, and within the last few months have alarmingly increased. The chief point of the Bill is to enable the Government to proclaim a district, and to forbid any one therein being out of bed between sunset and sunrise. Hence it has been called the "Curfew Bill." The first reading in the Commons passed by 274 to 125 on May 1st, but on the second reading the Protectionists, being angry at the carrying of Peel's Free Trade Corn Bill, combined with the others to turn him out.

June 27th.—Peel has resigned, and Lord John Russell has formed a Ministry, Lord Palmerston becoming Foreign Minister.

June 28th.—Madame d'Harcourt died at St. Leonard's Hill on the 25th through drinking an eye-lotion containing a large quantity of laudanum in mistake for other medicine. [This unfortunate event led to the system of putting poisonous preparations into distinctive bottles and labelling them "Poison."] Madame d'Harcourt was daughter and heiress of Richard Bard Harcourt, of Pendley, in Hertfordshire, and she married Major-General Charles Amadée Harcourt, Marquis d'Harcourt in France, who was killed before his wife's eyes by a fall from his horse, and their son William was my brother-in-law. St. Leonard's Hill had been left to General Harcourt by his cousin, the last Earl Harcourt,¹ who died in 1830.

June 29th.—Ibrahim, Pasha of Egypt, was treated to-day to a review and inspection by the Duke of

¹ 3rd and last Earl.

Wellington, of the Household troops, namely, 1st Life Guards, the Blues, two battalions Grenadiers, and one battalion each of the Coldstream and Scots Fusiliers Guards.

July 8th.—The heat in London has of late been intense, and to-day the thermometer marked 95° in the shade.

July 24th.—My father last night gave a dinner, followed by a dance, to which many people came, including the Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Augusta, and to-night he had a large dinner party for Prince George of Cambridge and the officers 1st Life Guards.

July 30th.—Whilst staying at Ratton Place, Sussex, with the Inigo Thomas', I went to Goodwood Races, and was nearly broiled alive by the heat.

August 3rd.—A private of the 7th Hussars, stationed at Hounslow, was tried by court-martial some time ago for striking a sergeant across the breast with a poker, and was sentenced to receive one hundred and fifty lashes. The soldier having died after the infliction of the lashes, a coroner's inquest was held, and the verdict was given that his death had been caused by the flogging.

[The excitement caused by this tragedy led to alterations in the military code, and eventually, in 1879, to the abolition of flogging in the Army.]

August 11th.—I went yesterday to Ryde to stay with my uncle, Hedworth Lambton (brother of 1st Earl of Durham) for a few days' sailing. To-day

his yacht, *The Cygnet*, came in second in a race round the Isle of Wight.

August 18th.—Viscount Ponsonby (son of 4th Earl of Bessborough) having been appointed Ambassador at Vienna, my father and I asked him to take me as an Attaché, but he told us that such appointments rested not with him but with Lord Palmerston.

September 10th.—The Oregon affair has at last ended peacefully. The American Senate did not approve of going to war with us, and gradually smoothed the feathers of the American Eagle, so that last month a treaty was signed, fixing a boundary by which Vancouver Island belongs to us, and the navigation of the northern branch of the Columbia River is made free to both countries. It was owing to this near approach to war that our Government became less hostile to Irish grievances, and the potent factor in the giving way by the Americans is their expectancy of war with Mexico.

September 15th.—The French settlement of the Spanish Marriage question has caused much fury in English Court and Diplomatic circles, and great abuse of Lord Palmerston. It has been our object to keep French influence from becoming dominant in Spain ever since Ferdinand VII died in 1833 leaving two baby girls. In 1837 King Leopold ascertained from Louis Philippe that he had no intention of marrying his son to the Queen of Spain, and in 1843, when there were rumours that he proposed to marry the Duc d'Aumale to the Queen of Spain, Louis Philippe announced he did not care

whom she married, but that her sister was to marry his younger son, the Duc de Montpensier, provided the Queen had already married and had an heir. We made no objection to this on the condition that no Bourbon should become Royal Consort of Spain. To these conditions Louis Philippe several times subsequently gave a distinct assent. However, the Queen-Mother Christina did not care about French influence, and in 1841 proposed that Prince Ernest of Saxe-Coburg, Prince Albert's eldest brother, should be invited to become Isabella's husband, but he married some one else in 1842, and then Queen Christina suggested Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, Albert's first cousin. The French Government violently opposed this scheme, and it was dropped. However, in May, 1846, it was quietly revived by Christina, but at a family council held in London the decision was adverse, and the Queen was advised to marry her daughter to a Spaniard. Unfortunately when Palmerston came to the Foreign Office he wrote a despatch to Spain urging that the Queen should marry one of the three suitors whose names he submitted, one of them being Prince Leopold. The French were up in arms at once, and retaliated by arranging that the Queen should marry the Duke of Cadiz (her first cousin) on the same day as her sister married the Duc de Montpensier. On August 27th Guizot promised Lord Normanby that he would write immediately to Madrid that the Duke of Seville (eldest brother of Duke of Cadiz) would not be objectionable, yet he then knew the

protection of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, whilst Poland was re-established as a constitutional kingdom dependent upon Russia. In 1830 an insurrection in Poland drove out the Russian troops, who, however, returned in 1831 and restored order with the utmost cruelty, and the Constitution was taken away in 1832. This year trouble broke out in Galicia and an insurrection in Cracow, but the peasantry turned against the nobles, their hereditary oppressors, and committed many acts of murder and pillage. The Austrian troops surrounded Cracow, and were parleying with the insurgents when a Russian battalion, followed by the Prussian Army, marched into the town and the Republic was declared to be at an end. France and England protested against this, but as it was plain neither of us would back up our words by deeds, no heed was paid, and Cracow has been annexed to Austria, Russia having announced that if Austria did not take it she would.

November 9th.—Amongst the promotions to Major-General made to-day, in honour of the fifth birthday of the Prince of Wales, was that of my father, who is succeeded in the command of the 1st Life Guards by Lieutenant-Colonel Hall without purchasing. My father, anticipating that he might possibly be promoted, had been negotiating for the sale of the colonelcy, and had at last got Lord Cardigan to agree to pay him his price, £17,000, next year. The Horse Guards told my father there was no chance of his being promoted this year, yet he now finds himself a Major-General

and thereby unexpectedly loses all the money he had invested in purchasing into the regiment.

December 1st.—The Queen and Prince Albert went to Arundel Castle for a visit of three days to the Duke¹ and Duchess of Norfolk.

December 2nd.—I went down to Madehurst, near Arundel, to stay with Lord and Lady Charles FitzRoy (my father's sister), and we all went to a party at Arundel Castle to meet the Royalties.

¹ 13th Duke.

CHAPTER III

1847-1849

A drive to Naples and back to London—I ascend Mount Vesuvius—Curious conduct of the Queen of Spain—Jenny Lind—The French Revolution of 1848—The Hungarian rising—Chartist troubles in London—I am appointed a clerk in the Foreign Office—Smith O'Brien's Irish rebellion—The sea serpent—The Civil War in Hungary—The Sleswig-Holstein War—A diplomatic *faux-pas*—The Second Sikh War—The Battle of Chillianwallah—The Russian Army in Hungary—The joke of two Emperors—The Czar Nicholas at Warsaw—General Haynau's barbarities in Hungary.

1847

January 21st.—My sister Caroline was appointed by the Queen to be one of her Maids of Honour.

February 1st.—The distress in Ireland continues to be so acute that Parliament has had to devise fresh measures of alleviation. The famine is dreadful; the potato crop failed again last year, and the relief works instituted by Lord John Russell's Labour Rate Act seem to have been badly managed. It was characteristic of the people that many of those who had land to cultivate left it alone, in order to go to the road-making, where

labour was light and wages were certain. There were five hundred thousand men employed on the relief works, but the supply of food for them was in private hands and failed miserably. Disease broke out, and it is calculated that about twenty thousand died of "road fever" last year. The new measures stop the useless relief work, the food is to be distributed under Government supervision, and in order to increase the flow of corn to Ireland the grain duties and the Navigation Act have been suspended.

March 14th.—Hearing that Colonel Towneley, the Queen's Foreign Service Messenger, was going to Italy with important dispatches, I got leave from the Foreign Secretary to accompany him. My father lent us his old britska for the journey, as this would save us the expense of carriage-hire, and with it we crossed to France. We left Paris on the evening of the 10th, and travelling day and night, through deep snow and hard frost, we progressed somewhat slowly to the south, for the roads were so slippery that the post-horses kept falling, and so cold was it, that a bottle of wine belonging to our courier was frozen, as also was the oil in the carriage lamps.

On arriving at the foot of Mount Cenis the britska was placed on one sledge and its wheels on another, four horses dragging the load to the top of the pass, while we walked. Although the snow in places was twenty feet deep, the immense traffic had made a hard beaten track. The snow-covered mountains and the contrasting

dark fir-trees formed a magnificent spectacle. Only a few days ago our postilion had been carried over a precipice here by an avalanche, without being hurt, however.

We got safely down the zigzag road into Italy, and reaching Turin at 6 p.m., we went gladly to bed after handing over our bag of despatches to the British Minister.

March 17th.—Having spent the night of the 15th at Milan, we arrived in Florence at 4 p.m. to-day, and after considerable difficulty in finding our Legation, which had been moved to another house since my last visit, we delivered our despatches, including a new treaty, to the Secretary of Legation, the Minister being ill in bed.

To while away the time we went to the Pergola Theatre to hear Verdi's new opera, "Macbeth." The Florentines were extremely enthusiastic, the composer being "called on" about twenty times, and eventually, but after we had gone to bed, he was drawn home in his carriage by the mob.

March 22nd.—We left Florence at 6 a.m. on the 19th, reached Rome the next afternoon, and arrived in Naples to-day. Here we are putting up at the Hotel Crocelli in the Strada di Chiaia, which we find very good and cheap. For dinner they give us excellent soup, sardines, two entrées, leg of mutton, potatoes, salad, macaroni, snipe, woodcock, green peas, two entremets, and dessert, and only charge us four francs apiece.

March 23rd.—We drove as far as The Hermitage, stopping on the way to visit the buried theatre

at Herculaneum. Vesuvius was puffing out smoke and flame, but we climbed up to the foot of the cone about forty feet high, which has been thrown up during the last eighteen months and is now the crater. The lava here was red-hot, and incandescent pieces were being ejected every minute. Whilst gazing at this wonderful sight a storm of wind and hail came on, and the hail falling on the hot lava evaporated, and we were hidden in a dense fog of steam. When this cleared away, as we were not allowed to climb any higher, we went down to The Hermitage and drove to Portici. Here we took the train to Pompeii, where we spent an hour and a half in the excavations. We were much struck by the beauty of the temples and the freshness of the paint in some of the houses.

March 28th.—After visiting the sights of Naples we left at 6 p.m. on the 27th, and twenty-four hours later arrived in Rome. We found the towns in the Neapolitan Kingdom horribly dirty and the people filthy.

April 8th.—In the short time at our disposal we saw as much of Rome as we could, including the Colosseum, the Baths of Caracalla, the Palace of the Cæsars, the Temple of Vesta in the Forum, and Saint Peter's, but owing to a Church festival we could not get into the Vatican galleries. I thought the internal dimensions of the church stupendous, but the heavy façade spoils the exterior. With much interest I watched thousands of the faithful kissing the bronze toe of St. Peter's

statue. A hasty visit to the churches of St. John in Laterano, and San Paolo fuori Mura, whose colonnades we thought very splendid, concluded a long day's work, and we left with despatches at 6 p.m. on the 29th. On changing horses at La Horta, the postmaster gave us a restive leader, which after turning round several times, at last broke the pole into three pieces and we had to replace it by one from a carriage in the posting-house. Owing to the delay caused by this, the mail courier passed us, and we were unable to repass him until we came to a hill, when Towneley got out and by thrashing the leader put our three horses into a gallop and we went by in great style. The mail courier was much disgusted and so was our own, the latter declaring we had no right to pass on the road any carriage with post-horses. But he was wrong, because a "Cabinet Courier's" carriage (which ours was, as we were carrying Government despatches) has not only the right to pass any carriage, but also to take the horses out of it if there were no others to be had.

At Terni we visited the Falls, which were a grand sight owing to the recent rains, and reached Florence on 31st. Here we had to wait for some days, as the Tuscan Foreign Office had delayed the completion of the treaty. We utilized the time by revisiting the picture galleries, and on Easter Sunday we saw the Grand Duke of Tuscany go in grand procession to the Duomo. At length, on April 5th, the treaty was signed, and we were

ordered to be ready to start with it for home in the evening.

However, it was past midnight before the despatch-bags were brought to us, and we only got away at 1 a.m. on the 6th. We had torrents of rain until we reached Spezia, but from there to Genoa it was fine, and the views we got of the blue Mediterranean were lovely.

April 15th.—We reached Susa at 4 a.m. on April 9th in a violent hurricane off the Alps, and when we first reached the snow the carriage twice stuck fast and we had to dig it out; but half-way up it was put on to a sledge, and at last we got to the barrier at the top of the Mont Cenis Pass. The official there tried to collect a toll from us of fifteen francs, but despite his abuse we upheld our right to pass free as we were carrying dispatches for the Sardinian Government as well as for the English. We breakfasted at the Hospice on the summit, the wind continuing to blow violently and the drifting snow making it impossible to see anything. We sent the carriage on down to the twenty-second house, where it was put on to its own wheels, and we followed in a one-horse sledge and there caught it up.

There had been much rain in France, and we were delayed by the bad state of the roads, which in some places had been washed away, and at Chambéry by the post-master refusing to give us horses unless our passports were *viséd* by the police, to which we paid no attention.

When we left Avalon at 7 p.m. we found we

had a drunken post-boy who went the whole stage at a gallop. We paid him eight sous a kilometre, and the news of this scale being passed on to the fresh post-boys, they drove us fast through the pouring rain all night and next day. We drove into the Embassy yard at Paris at 2 p.m. on the 12th covered with yellow mud both outside and in.

On April 13th we went by train to Abbeville and there got post-horses. On leaving Montreuil the post-boy ran the carriage against a post, throwing the horses against a wall, and the centre one of the three got so hurt we had to send him back to the post-house. Going on with the other two we found them to be jibbers, and it was an exciting moment for us when they stopped on the drawbridge of the fosse of the fortifications. However, by dint of thrashing we got them started again, and afterwards they went well. This evening we arrived in London.

During this journey between March 8th and April 14th I only went to bed twelve times. The journey to Naples occupied two hundred and seventeen hours in actual travelling and the return one, two hundred and three. [In modern times this would be done in forty-two hours.]

May 4th.—Mendelssohn, the great musician, came to Burlington Gardens to-day, and played some melodies of his own composing to my aunt, Lady Caroline, who is a great lover of music.

To-night Jenny Lind, the great songstress, made her first appearance in London in the character

of Alice in the opera "Roberto il Diavolo" at Her Majesty's Theatre, and she obtained a great success. I have never heard a more beautiful and delightful voice, and so thrilling was it that two of my friends had to leave their boxes lest they should burst into tears.

May 15th.—Jenny Lind sang most beautifully at the Opera House to-night.

May 25th.—Daniel O'Connell, of Derrynane Abbey, M.P. for County Cork, died on the 15th at Genoa, on his way to Rome, and is to be buried in Ireland. Although somewhat of a gas-bag, and wild in his statements, he was the real leader of the Irish, and his influence over them was extraordinary. In the House of Commons he was a thorn in the side of Government, for his eloquence and earnestness caused him to be listened to. He was in favour of agitation without bloodshed, but now he is dead the "Young Ireland" party will become more rampant.

June 1st.—Much against the wishes of the Duke of Wellington, the Queen gave orders that a medal should be struck to record the services of the Navy and Army during the wars between 1793 and 1814, and that every soldier present at any battle or siege during that period should receive one. A Board of General Officers, of whom my father was one, was appointed to examine into the various claims, and amongst the hundreds of regimental returns, and private letters perused, they have encountered not only most curious grounds of claim, but also the most diverse spelling of names of persons and places.

June 15th.—From Madrid I hear that the young Queen of Spain drives about Aranjuez in an old tilbury of the sixteenth century, with a groom wearing boots with *yellow* tops! Public affairs in Spain are in a sad state, and if the Queen does not mind what she is about she stands some chance of losing her crown. My friend says: "She is desperately in love with Serrano—a good fellow without much head, and gentlemanlike-looking for a Spaniard. The Queen was at the Opera two nights ago, occupying the stage-box, her lover sitting opposite, and anything so grossly indecent as her whole conduct I have only once before witnessed, and that was a year ago at the Haymarket Theatre, when a drunken 'lady of pleasure' placed herself in the front of the upper range of boxes and made indecent telegraphic signals to an equally drunken cavalier, sitting on the opposite side of the house! The Queen was not drunk, and therefore there was the less excuse for her."

[The Queen of Spain quarrelled with her husband soon after marriage, and Serrano became her lover. After several disappointments, her first child was born early in 1852, and she had four others born in wedlock, though whether the Duke of Cadiz was father of any of the five there are grave doubts.]

July 20th.—I went to hear Jenny Lind sing on the 16th at Her Majesty's Theatre in "La Figlia del Regimento," and again to-night in "Roberto il Diavolo." Anything more perfect than her voice cannot exist upon this earth!

August 2nd.—Colonel Towneley took me to stay with some friends of his at Barton Court for the Canterbury Cricket Week.

August 20th.—I heard Jenny Lind sing in “La Somnambula” on the 12th, in “Le Nozze di Figaro” on the 17th, and again to-night at a concert at the Opera House. This was her last performance this season, and she was rapturously applauded.

August 25th.—The Duchesse de Praslin, only daughter of Marshal Sebastiani, who used to be French Ambassador in London, was brutally murdered in her house in Paris on the 18th, and as her husband was plainly shown to be the murderer, all Europe has been much shocked. The Duc was arrested, but took arsenic in prison, and died yesterday owing to the ignorance or connivance of the doctors. It is said he confessed his guilt to a priest.

September 18th.—Mr. Munro, who shot Colonel Fawcett in a duel, having surrendered himself, has been tried and sentenced to death, but this punishment the Queen has commuted to twelve months’ imprisonment in Newgate.

September 21st.—I escorted my sister Elizabeth and her children as far as Paris on a visit to their French relations.

October 5th.—A friend of mine in Madrid writes that at a bull fight the other day tremendous excitement was caused when one of the picadors was discovered riding on the horns of the bull, which had unhorsed him in the first charge, but he was little injured. A week later my friend

went to another bull fight, and there he saw Lord Canning¹ enjoying the sport (?) amazingly.

October.—For shooting and hunting I went to Codicote, thence to Chatsworth and from there to Lord² and Lady George Cavendish at Ashford, to the Burlingtons³ at Holker Hall, to Mr. and Mrs. Smythe at Heath Hall, and to Mr.⁴ and Mrs. Richard Lumley at Tickhill Castle.

November 22nd.—Colonel Towneley writes from St. Petersburg: "The cholera is gradually advancing, and I have no doubt is now in St. Petersburg, but the Government is wisely silent on the subject. It came on rather mildly in the first instance at Moscow, but increased rapidly in violence, and the deaths have been very great in proportion to those attacked. I hope you may be spared it." We were not, for it reached England last month.

December.—During this month Sir George Grey⁵ brought in a Coercion Bill, to remedy the state of Ireland, where murders have continued to increase in number, but the "Curfew" rule is not included in it.

Affairs in finance have been very bad owing to speculation in railways and the corn trade. Money has been very scarce and the Bank rate went up to 8 per cent., while Consols went down to 79. The Bank of England was getting so short

¹ 2nd Viscount, Governor-General of India, 1855.

² Brother of Lord Burlington.

³ 2nd Earl.

⁴ Afterwards 9th Earl of Scarborough.

⁵ 2nd Baronet.

of bullion that the Ministry have authorized it to issue notes beyond the legal limit, and a Bill of indemnity to exonerate the Bank for so doing will be introduced in Parliament. This has steadied things, and will save many houses from bankruptcy.

December 30th.—Towneley writes from Berlin that he had just posted there from St. Petersburg in 48 degrees of frost! He says: "The first frost has set in with great severity, and it was a magnificent sight to watch the vast masses of ice come rushing down the Neva before it froze. Very often one saw wolves and wild dogs, which had been caught whilst crossing Lake Ladoga before the ice forced its way down, sitting on the floes howling in a most dismal way as they were hurried past the town. In any other country they would be shot from the houses *en passant* and put out of their misery, but in St. Petersburg no one is allowed to keep a gun loaded, much less to fire it off. The consequence is the poor brutes are carried down by the stream out to sea, where they become food for fishes. The River Neva on the 17th froze 8 inches thick in fourteen hours, and although the evening before boats were crossing with a rapid current, in the morning people were walking across by the same track."

Jenny Lind has left St. Petersburg, where the connoisseurs were not nearly so enthusiastic about her voice as on her last visit, as they say she has injured it by singing too much in England, and they advised her to go home to Sweden and rest for twelve months, which she has started to do.

1848

January.—Visiting the Cawdors and Emlyns in Wales I got some very good shooting at Stacpole Court and Golden Grove in spite of the intense cold.

February 18th.—There has been a revolution in Sicily, and the Neapolitan troops have been withdrawn. The King of the Two Sicilies has given a Constitution on the lines of that of 1812 to the insurgents and likewise to Naples. But Austria, Prussia, and Russia do not like this, as it is contrary to their treaties with Naples. The King of Sardinia, the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany have also agreed to some form of constitution for their subjects.

February 19th.—Political affairs of France, both external and internal, having been for some time unsatisfactory to the Republican and reforming parties, a struggle began early this year between the Reform Opposition and the Cabinet of M. Guizot, supported by the King, who declared in the Chambers last December that the Constitution of 1830 met all requirements. This shows how he has been drawn towards the despotic Powers by his isolation due to his quarrel with us, who are rather inclined (and Lord Palmerston most decidedly so) towards liberality of constitution.

It was proposed to hold a Reform banquet in Paris on 22nd, but this assembly was forbidden, and abandoned by its promoters amidst some excitement.

In England, although there is some uneasiness as to what might happen in Paris owing to the

revolutionary spirit there, yet it is not believed that the Orleans dynasty is in any danger.

February 23rd.—There have been collisions between the Parisian mob and the Municipal Guards, but as we hear the regular garrison has been increased to eighty thousand men, it is hoped tranquillity will soon be restored.

February 24th.—The troops and the National Guard were called out yesterday, and the latter sided with the mob. M. Guizot resigned in the afternoon, and a good deal of fighting took place in the evening.

February 25th.—M. Thiers, having assumed the Premiership, issued a proclamation early yesterday in which he said the troops had been ordered to withdraw. This emboldened the rioters and disheartened the soldiers, who allowed themselves to be overpowered and supplanted by the civil population, the Royal palaces were sacked, King Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of the Comte de Paris, and with the Queen fled from Paris. The Ducs de Nemours and Saxe-Coburg arrived in England to-day, and the remainder of the French Royal Family are expected here in a few days.

The revolutionary party was not to be restrained; a Provisional Government, headed by Mons. Lamartine, was instituted, and in the evening a Republic was proclaimed.

Colonel Towneley writes yesterday from Boulogne that Rothschild's courier was brought out of Paris under a load of cabbages as no one was allowed to leave the city.

February 27th.—One of the first acts forced by Socialism upon the new French Government is the provision of national workshops, in which the unemployed are to work for the State at a fair rate of wages, which at present is fixed at five francs a day.

February 28th.—The effect of this revolution upon French funds was merely to lower the Three per Cent. Rentes from seventy-three francs ninety centimes to seventy-three francs thirty-five centimes; but upon English Consols it was much greater, for on the 23rd they stood at eighty-nine, on the 26th at eighty-five and a quarter, and to-day they have fallen to seventy-nine and three-quarters. It would seem that the frequency of her revolutions has a steadying influence upon the financial nerves of France.

Paris just now being considered unsafe for English people, my aunt and my sister, Mrs. Harcourt, are anxious to return to England and want some one to escort them, so I got a bag of despatches to take to our Embassy in Paris and I started this afternoon for France.

March 2nd.—Owing to a gale I did not reach Calais till 9 a.m. yesterday, nor Paris till the same hour to-day.

At Calais guns were being fired in celebration of the establishment of the Republic. This salute was fired by the directions of a Commissary who had arrived the evening before from Paris and was trying to get up some show of joy at the change of Government, but the people were not to be stirred, as they were quite content under Louis Philippe.

This Commissary had gone up to Paris to attend the Reform Banquet (the prohibition of this "feast of reason" forming the immediate cause of the revolution) because he was the only Republican in Calais! I saw a National Guard drummer beating the "rappel," followed by two little boys and one little girl!

The revolution was not only in Paris, for all along the railways the telegraph posts and wires were down or burned and cut, the little watch-houses had been burned, nearly all the stations had been gutted, and at one of them a large number of carriages and trucks had been destroyed by fire.

I have been walking through Paris, and have seen many signs of the popular fury. Written in blood on the walls of the Foreign Office were the words "Mort à Guizot." Many trees have been cut down, and the paving stones, which had been torn up for barricade-making, are still lying about.

In the courtyard of the Palais Royale there was a heap of rubbish, the remains of furniture, books, &c., which had been thrown out of the windows and then burned, and all the windows of the Palace had been smashed by the disloyal mob. The Château d'Eu was completely gutted and its front was spotted with bullet-marks. The wretched Municipal Guards inside were burned to death, as the mob prevented their escape when it was set on fire.

A number of windows in the Tuileries were broken, and on one was pasted a piece of paper with "Mort aux Voleurs" written in large letters. In the areas were heaps of rubbish composed of old

chairs, tables, books, papers, &c. Mrs. Fieschi Heneage¹ told me the Palace had been invaded by some two hundred ruffians, some of whom she afterwards saw parading about in the State liveries and others in the bonnets, gowns, &c., of the Princesses.

In the Champs Elysées a squadron of Cuirassiers was bivouacking under the trees, and the two guard-houses on the Place de la Concorde had been sacked and burned and the unfortunate Municipal Guards murdered.

The new Gardes Mobiles are everywhere, some in blouses, others in plain clothes with a round hat, carrying muskets, cartouche boxes, bayonets, and white belts. A creature of this description I saw on sentry duty at the Cavalry Barracks on the Quai d'Orsay, and several idle troopers were standing around him, to all appearances unconscious of any disgrace in his usurpation of their functions!

It seems that after his sister (Madame Adelaide) died on December 31st last year Louis Philippe lost his head, and that in his dealing with the Paris *émeute* great mistakes were made. For instance, had the troops only been brought on the scene when they were required, they would have done their duty, instead of which they were kept on duty in the streets for hours and forbidden to fire on the mob; so when eventually they were called upon to do so they, seeing the National Guards had joined the rioters, refused to fire on the "Cloth"! The King is blamed for not putting himself at the head of his troops (the Queen, it is said, went on her

¹ Daughter of 1st Baron Yarborough.

knees to beg him to do so), and the Princes are equally blamed for their pusillanimity. In fact the only one of the Royal Family who behaved like a man was the Duchesse d'Orléans.

M. Guizot, who had been concealed in the house of the Comte de St. Aulaire, escaped on February 28th disguised as a servant.

March 4th.—I went to look on, from the roof of a house, at the funeral procession of those patriots who had been slain in the revolution. The outside of the Church of the Madeleine was hung with black cloth, and on the steps stood a number of singers chanting hymns, &c., and military bands played the "Marseillaise." All the National Guards, the Gardes Mobiles, and two or three regiments of cavalry which came up last night from General Castellan's corps near Rouen formed the procession, and after these came the funeral carriages and then a triumphal car drawn by white horses. The whole thing was most absurd but thoroughly French.

March 5th.—The King and Queen of the French landed at Newhaven early this morning, having embarked at Honfleur yesterday. They have gone to Claremont, which the Queen and the King of the Belgians (who has it for life) have given them to live in.

March 7th.—I returned to London with my relatives, and apart from the overcrowding caused by the great exodus of foreigners from Paris owing to the disturbances, we had much less difficulty on the road than we had anticipated.

Except for the evidences of recent disorder still

visible, no one would imagine that so sanguinary a revolution had taken place in Paris, for the business of life was going on there just as quietly as usual and the city seemed to have settled down again.

Yesterday Mr. Cochrane called an illegal meeting in Trafalgar Square to protest against the income tax, and by the afternoon fifteen thousand people had collected. There was a good deal of fighting with the police and some damage was done, the premises of a baker and a publican being looted. About 8 p.m. a party headed by a youth wearing epaulettes marched down Pall Mall for Buckingham Palace, breaking the lamps on their way and shouting "Vive la République!" The sentries refused to fraternize with them, and turned out the Guard, when the rioters retired at the sight of the fixed bayonets. Some arrests were made, including that of the heroic leader of the "attack on the Palace," who thereupon, despite his epaulettes, began to cry!

There have been disturbances in Munich, and the King's mistress, Lola Montes, has been forced to fly for her life. She has been the curse of Bavaria, yet the King is still infatuated with her.

March 14th.—A great Chartist meeting of between thirteen and fifteen thousand malcontents assembled yesterday on Kennington Common, but luckily for them there was hardly any disturbance, for immense preparations had been made by the authorities to sternly repress rioting.

March 22nd.—Berlin was disturbed on the 19th, and the troops fired on the mob which was led by students, killing and wounding about one hundred

and ten rioters. Again on the 20th the mob was charged and dispersed by troops, but the King fled to Potsdam, whence he issued decrees granting liberty to the Press, and announced his intention of heading the German National Movement so as to supplant Austria as the dominant Power.

Supported by Russia, Austria has forbidden the Grand Duke of Tuscany to grant a Constitution, and threatens to march troops into his territory to enforce compliance.

In Vienna on the 13th the mob got the better of the troops and pillaged a great deal. Prince Metternich was forced to fly, and his house, together with the works of art in it, was destroyed. What a fall for the poor old Prince, who, having been for forty years the stoutest upholder of the *ancien régime* and the arbiter of Europe, is now forced to seek refuge in England.

Hungary, moreover, has declared itself an independent kingdom by a bloodless revolution. The buffer State between Central Europe and the Ottoman Empire, Hungary has always been more or less misgoverned. In 1524 Ferdinand I of Austria was elected King, having married the sister of the last Hungarian King, Louis II, and since then the House of Habsburg had intermittently continued to hold domination over Transylvania and Hungary, until a popular rising in 1707 forced the Emperor Leopold I, who had previously declared his object in life to be the pauperization, enslavement, and re-Catholicization of the country, to proclaim Hungary to be inde-

pendent of Austria. After this, the succession to the Crown of St. Stephen of Hungary was by consent of the Hungarian Parliament entailed upon the female line of the Habsburgs, and by the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, the Great Powers bound themselves, by request of the Emperor Charles VI of Germany, who had no son, to secure the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa, whom the people of Hungary enthusiastically supported against Frederick the Great during the War of the Austrian Succession.

Little was done, however, to improve matters until the Napoleonic era, when Count Stephen Szechenyi, Deak, and Kossuth, did much to ameliorate the conditions of life and to introduce reforms of all kinds; but Prince Metternich and the Cabinet of Vienna systematically opposed them, and even in the Hungarian Diet the reforms initiated, chiefly by Kossuth, in the Lower House, were opposed in the Upper. The struggles and appeals by Hungary to Vienna for the grant of "Reform" have hitherto met with no more favourable response than "No Reform."

March 26th.—The King of Sardinia issued a proclamation on the 23rd promising help to Lombardy and Venice in recovering their freedom.

Sardinian troops are marching upon Milan, whence the Austrians have retired to Mantua. All the North of Italy is now in revolt against Austria.

April 5th.—Owing to the expectation of trouble over the great Chartist meeting to be held on Kennington Common on April 10th for the purpose

of presenting a monster petition to Parliament, large numbers of well-disposed subjects and others were sworn in as special constables. My division was the St. James, under the command of Lord de Grey,¹ and we assembled in St. James's churchyard, where we were formed into squads and drilled. Each man was supplied with a baton and an armlet with "SPECIAL" stamped on it in black letters. Amongst the numerous Englishmen and foreigners who drilled with me was Prince Louis Napoleon, a member of the French Assembly.

April 10th.—The great meeting at which 150,000 people were expected to be present has passed off with little trouble. The most elaborate arrangements had been made by the Duke of Wellington: masses of troops, police, and special constables were in readiness at strategic points, and had orders to deal most drastically with rioters; the public offices were filled with rusty guns, the Bank of England was fortified and heavily garrisoned, and many private houses had their windows barricaded. But only about twenty thousand attended the meeting, and they dispersed peacefully enough when the chief organizer, Mr. O'Connor, told them that any attempt to form a procession would be broken up at all hazards. The monster petition which was to have been carried in procession to the House of Commons was instead taken there in three cabs. There was a little fighting with the police, who would not allow any but small parties to pass over the bridges.

¹ 2nd Earl.

We were not called upon to parade until the evening, when we were assembled, and patrolled the streets. The "beat" of my squad of "specials" was Piccadilly, St. James's Street, Pall Mall, and Waterloo Place, but owing to the admirable arrangements of the Duke of Wellington and the Commissioner of Police, and to the good sense of the crowd, no trouble was given to any of the seventeen thousand "specials."

April 30th.—When the Chartist petition, which was supposed to be supported by five million signatures, underwent the scrutiny of Parliament, it was at once seen that there were only about a million and a half of signatures. Many of these were impudent forgeries. The Duke of Wellington's name appeared seventeen times, and that of Colonel Sibthorpe about a dozen, whilst amongst other great personages who, according to this veracious document, were the warmest supporters of the "Charter," and showed it by signing their names several times, appeared the Queen, Prince Albert, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and "Punch"! Many apparent signatures turned out to be obscene and disgusting words, slang phrases, or gross ribaldry. The whole movement, therefore, is covered with scorn and ridicule.

May 9th.—I was to-day appointed to a clerkship in the Foreign Office by Lord Palmerston.

May 10th.—The Hungarian revolution of March 15th was a bloodless one, though the patriots were in full sympathy with and encouraged by the insurrection in Vienna. The Diet at once set to work

to reform matters, and both Houses passed new laws of all kinds, which received the Royal assent and were proclaimed at Presburg on April 11th in the presence of the Emperor-King Ferdinand V.

Count Louis Batthyany became Minister President of Hungary, which has now been transformed into a modern State with a Constitutional Government. However, "All is not gold that glitters," and Batthyany has a heterogenous mass of nationalities and many irreconcilables to deal with before the country can settle down.

May 15th.—The Austrians seem to be getting the better of the Sardinians, and fears are expressed that France will step in to check the former.

The difficulty between Prussia and Denmark (who has blockaded the ports of Hamburg, &c.) is likely to be adjusted peacefully.

May 16th.—Rome has been in a ferment, and the people have forced the Pope to declare war against Austria, and to give them a new form of government.

May 24th.—The House of Lords has thrown out the Jew Bill by a majority of thirty-five.

The Austrian Emperor and Empress have left Vienna for Innsbruck owing to fresh disturbances.

May 25th.—Lord Palmerston sent to Sir Henry Bulwer¹ at Madrid a despatch to be shown to the Spanish Government, in which he somewhat brusquely pointed out that the Ministers selected by the Queen of Spain were too reactionary. In consequence Sir Henry has been ordered to leave

¹ Uncle of 1st Baron Lytton.

Madrid within forty-eight hours and M. Isturitz has been told to leave England.

May 31st.—We were out again to-day on “special” duty owing to more Chartist troubles. A large meeting had been called to assemble on Clerkenwell Green to protest, with violence, against the conviction for felony and the sentence of fourteen years’ transportation passed in Dublin upon John Mitchell, proprietor of the *United Irishman* newspaper. But great preparations had been made by the authorities to cope with the anticipated disorder, and these coming to the knowledge of the leaders of the movement, they did not appear at the trysting-place, and no trouble ensued, the police long before midnight being left to pursue in peace their nightly beats.

June 2nd.—In consequence of more riots in Vienna on 26th, the people demanded the return of the Emperor within eight days, to which his Majesty has consented.

June 4th.—This evening I was walking along Piccadilly when I was suddenly pounced upon by one of the Home Messengers in a cab, who said he had orders to find one of the gentlemen in the German and Italian Department to go at once down to the Foreign Office. Thither I went, and Foster, the resident clerk, gave me a long secret dispatch about Italy to copy out for Lord Palmerston’s signature, although I was then the junior clerk of all.

June 27th.—There has been terrible street fighting in Paris, caused by the Communists. The wages

in the national workshops had gradually been reduced to eight francs a week, and on the 22nd the Assemblée decreed that a certain number of the *ouvriers* should be enrolled in the Army or be turned out of the workshops. This infuriated the Socialists, and a struggle began between those who had no bread and those who had, which was only quelled by the troops with difficulty. Between the 23rd and yesterday eleven Generals were killed or wounded, and over ten thousand soldiers and Parisians lost their lives, including the Archbishop of Paris, who was shot beside a barricade whilst endeavouring to persuade some men to lay down their arms. Numbers of wounded soldiers were dreadfully mutilated by the mob, of whom many put their women and children at windows in front of themselves as shields behind which to fire, but the troops after a time were not to be deterred by this cowardly ruse, and fired indiscriminately.

Towneley, who has just gone to Paris, writes on 25th: "At the station I had no means whatever of getting to the Embassy, for all the public conveyances were employed in different parts of Paris collecting the wounded and dead from the houses. So I set out on foot, carrying my carpet bag and despatch-bag, but at last I hit upon a fiacre which was depositing a load of wounded at a door. On the way I passed a considerable body of prisoners escorted by a squadron of cavalry, and these were preceded by a detachment of National Guards, many of whom had been recently wounded. I do not think General Cavaignac had very many troops

on the first two days, but regiments are pouring in now from all quarters. I have just seen 6,000 cavalry bivouacking in the Champs Elysées. The men were fine, soldier-like fellows, but the horses somewhat undersized, and both seemed nearly worn out. There are two or three batteries of artillery near the Pont de la Concorde, and their matches are kept burning. The loss on both sides exceeds 10,000, but from all accounts the slaughter must have been frightful, and the full extent of it will never be known. The Garde Mobile suffered most, and Comte Morel told me that in one battalion of 628 strong there were now less than 100. Twenty-five of these Gardes had been decorated on Saturday by General Cavaignac, and only three of these are now left. The atrocities, committed by both parties, seem to have been horrible. The insurgents, when they took any soldiers of the line, hanged them, and the Garde Nationale had their throats cut by men dressed in women's clothes, the latter death being considered the more preferable of the two. Although little is said about it, there seems to be no doubt that late last night several hundred captured rioters were taken beyond the Bois de Bologne and there shot, and I hear the same tragedy is to be repeated to-night. A more melancholy sight than Paris at present it is impossible to conceive. Instead of the numberless carriages one used to meet with at this time of year, carrying people going to the theatres or other places of amusement, one sees nothing but the great ungainly public hearses (a sort of enlarged horse-

van) filled with dead bodies, hurrying on to their last resting-place. A little below the Embassy I found the street almost impassable from the crowd collected to gaze at some bodies still lying unburied in a garden. The construction of the barricades and of the loopholes in the walls connecting them, near the Northern Railway Station, is wonderful, if done by common workmen, but I cannot help thinking trained engineers must have had something to do with them."

July 24th.—The Sardinians have been badly beaten by Marshal Radetsky, and the King has asked France to intervene with 50,000 men, which she has declined to do. The Sardinians appear to have fought well, but have been half-starved, badly led, and ill supported by their compatriots.

July 25th.—The disturbance in Ireland, headed by Mr. Smith O'Brien, M.P., ended in a fiasco at Ballingarry. He hid himself in a safe place after sending 3,000 patriots to attack the police, fifty of whom put them to flight with a few shots. O'Brien was proclaimed a traitor, £500 was offered as a reward for his apprehension, and he was quickly arrested. In April last O'Brien denied in the House of Commons that he had gone to France in order to get assistance for the Irish rebels, but, unfortunately for him, his letter to Duffy, saying the French were ready to send 50,000 men to Ireland, was in the hands of Sir George Grey, who read it out amidst howls of "Traitor!" &c.

August 7th.—France and England are to mediate between Austria and Sardinia.

August 31st.—This season I have frequently heard Jenny Lind singing in opera, and her voice is as glorious as it was last year.

September 28th.—Smith O'Brien has been found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death, but as the jury recommended him to mercy, there is much speculation as to what will be done with him. He certainly deserves hanging, whatever he may get owing to "political exigencies."

[His sentence was commuted to transportation for life.]

October 9th.—A fresh insurrection broke out in Vienna on the 6th, the Minister of War was murdered, and the Emperor again fled. The rebels got complete possession of the town after severe fighting on the 6th and 7th.

October 11th.—Keen interest has been excited by the publication by the Board of Admiralty of a report by Captain Peter McQuhae, of H.M.S. *Dædalus*, that a large sea-serpent had been seen by those on board in August last, whilst off the Cape of Good Hope, on the voyage home from the East Indies. The monster was first seen by a midshipman named Sartoris, who reported it to the officer of the watch, Edgar Drummond.

I know Drummond very well, and he tells me he sincerely wishes he had never seen the sea-serpent, so pestered has he been by questions and letters concerning it.

November 3rd.—The insurgents in Vienna agreed to capitulate on the 31st to Windischgrätz, but when they heard the Hungarians were coming to help

them they treacherously fired upon the Austrian troops marching in to take possession.

The reactionaries in Hungary did not support the reforms instituted in April last, and part of the non-Hungarian element chose to believe that none but Hungarians would be allowed to benefit by the changes; wherefore, being egged on and actively supported by Austria, they took up arms. The Croats under Jellachich, their Ban (ruler), the Wallachs, and the Serbs rebelled, and massacred many Hungarians with their families in the south-east of the country. The Buda-Pesth Government had to organize armies from amongst the Hungarians and their supporters, the Germans, the Ruthenians, and the Slovaks to suppress the rebellion and to defend the kingdom.

In July, Jellachich with his Croats, acting in the name of Vienna, advanced upon Buda-Pesth, but was surrounded by the Hungarians. Some escaped, but 9,000 Croats laid down their arms after an armistice, and Jellachich fled to Vienna. In September the Grand Duke Stephen was recalled from his government in Hungary and Count Lamberg was appointed in his stead, but was murdered by the Hungarians as soon as he entered Buda-Pesth.

When the insurrection broke out in Vienna in October the Hungarians prepared a force to go to their assistance, but this was defeated by Jellachich. Windischgrätz bombarded Vienna, and took the town on November 1st.

November 29th.—The horrible murder of Mr.

Jermy, Recorder of Norwich, by Rush, a local farmer and auctioneer, is causing a painful sensation throughout the country.

November 30th.—I went to Stacpole Court to stay with Lord ¹ and Lady Cawdor for three weeks, and got plenty of shooting.

December 1st.—There has been more trouble in Rome. On November 15th Count Rossi, the Papal Premier, was murdered, and in an attack on the Quirinal, Cardinal Palma was killed by the mob. The Pope secretly fled from Rome on 24th, and has taken refuge at Gaeta.

December 8th.—The news from St. Petersburg is that Russia intends to help Austria in case any Power attempts to force her to give up any Italian territory, which she refuses to do, and as the Sardinians are getting more warlike every day, there will be war in the spring.

December 10th.—The Emperor of Austria has at last abdicated, and his nephew Francis Joseph succeeds him.

December 20th.—Prince Louis Napoleon was to-day proclaimed President of the French Republic. This is somewhat of a change from being a prisoner in Ham, a refugee in England, and a "special constable" last April!

December 31st.—The hostilities between Prussia and Denmark have been suspended by an armistice, but are likely to break out again. This war has been caused by the establishment of an Assembly at Frankfort, by supporters of German unity, who

¹ 1st Earl.

put the Archduke John of Austria at their head, and by the entry of Holstein into this federation. Holstein had always been a German fief, Sleswig Danish, but an old law declared that Sleswig should always be joined to Holstein. The law of succession was Salique in Sleswig, but not in Denmark. In 1721 Sleswig had been guaranteed to Denmark by England and France, but now Sleswig wants to join the German Confederation, to which Denmark will not agree. The Grand Duchy of Holstein and many Sleswigers are German-speaking, and desire to be incorporated in any German Union that may be formed. Prussia, acting ostensibly in the name of Germany, invaded the Duchies and Jutland, but Sweden then interfered, and hence the present armistice.

1849

January 13th.—On returning to the Foreign Office from leave I found, to my disgust, that, owing to an Office rule, I had been transferred from the German to the French Department.

February 18th.—Republics have been proclaimed in Rome and Florence.

February 19th.—After the suppression of the Vienna insurrection Windischgrätz demanded the unconditional surrender of Hungary, which was refused by Kossuth, who was now at the head of affairs in place of Szechenyi, whose mind had given way under the strain of government.

In January Windischgrätz occupied Buda, whereupon Kossuth removed the seat of government to

Debreczen, and Görgey took his army to Northern Hungary, whilst the Honveds (defenders of the country), or national army, defeated the Serbs and Wallachs. By the end of the month the Austrians had been several times defeated, and Windischgrätz was deprived of his command, being succeeded by Baron Haynau, called by the Italians "the Hyena of Brescia," from his barbarities there.

Now, in order that Austria may have more freedom to act in Italy, Russia has agreed to deal with the Hungarians and coerce them into submission.

February 20th.—Count Nesselrode, on February 9th, sent a Note to the other Powers saying Russian troops were being sent to Hungary for humanitarian reasons only, in order to prevent the murder and pillage which would otherwise be inevitable owing to the disturbed state of the country. Unofficially the Russians justify this invasion on the ground that their Polish rebels have escaped and joined the Magyars. Out of 200,000 men now in arms in Hungary, not more than 3,000 are Poles, so the Russian excuse is rather a feeble one.

Lord Palmerston steadily refuses to recognize Hungary as an independent State.

February 23rd.—Mr. Richard Edwardes,¹ our first Attaché at Paris, committed a great *faux pas* at the President's ball the other night. He had engaged a friend to be his *vis-à-vis*, and had barely done so when the President came up to him and asked him to be *his vis-à-vis*, an invitation

¹ Fourth son of 2nd Baron Kensington.

which Edwardes very undiplomatically declined, saying he was very sorry, but he was engaged!

March 3rd.—From India comes news of another battle with the Sikhs on January 13th.

It appears that after the conclusion of the Sikh War in 1846 the Ranee, for the purpose of carrying out the disbandment of the army and the other reforms urged by Sir H. Hardinge, appointed as her Prime Minister her paramour, Lal Singh, who soon proved himself to be incompetent as well as insincere. Cashmere had been ceded to us by the Sikhs, and we had sold it to Gholab Singh, but the Sikh Governor refused to carry out the transfer. As it was found he was instigated in his recalcitrancy by Lal Singh, the latter was removed from office and a British Resident, Henry Lawrence, was stationed at Lahore to administer the Sikh territory.

Mooltan was a recent conquest of the Sikh power, and its Governor was now one Moolraj. From him, as his succession fee, the Lahore Government demanded a large sum, which he declined to pay, so an arrangement was come to by which he was to hand over the government to another ruler. Lieutenants Vans Agnew and Anderson were sent to witness the transfer, but were murdered, and Moolraj revolted against Lahore. Sir Frederick Currie, now the Resident, sent Shere Singh with Sikh troops to coerce Moolraj, but they deserted to him instead. The whole country then rose against us, and the Sikhs persuaded the Afghans to come to their aid. Lord

Gough advanced with 20,000 men to the Chenab River, and with difficulty succeeded in defeating the Sikhs at Ramnuggur on November 22nd last, and in crossing the river, whereupon the Sikhs moved to a strong position on the River Jhelum.

On January 13th Gough attacked the Sikhs at Chillianwallah, and after enormous losses on both sides the battle was a drawn one. The Sikh position was taken, but was abandoned at night. Some of our cavalry are said to have behaved badly, and Lord Gough, instead of directing matters, was in the thick of the fighting himself. The 24th Foot were dreadfully cut up, and Charles Ellice, who had just exchanged into them as a captain from the Guards, found himself commanding the regiment on his arrival the day after the battle, when 13 of its officers were "laid out" on the mess-table! Our loss was 100 officers and 2,000 men killed and wounded.

March 6th.—Lord Palmerston has got into trouble for supplying, or allowing to be supplied, arms to the Sicilian insurgents without consulting any of his colleagues, and an apology has been sent to the King of the Two Sicilies.

March 12th.—Sir Charles Napier is to succeed Lord Gough as Commander-in-Chief in India, and leaves almost at once.

March 13th.—Having been out of London for a few days, I find on my return to the Office that the practice of smoking has been strictly forbidden in the "nursery" (as the second room of the German Department is called, because it is the playroom

for those youngsters who may for the moment be unemployed), but I much doubt the order being obeyed!

It is stated that German troops are on the march towards Denmark, and that our Minister at Turin has urged upon King Charles Albert to hesitate before he again begins to fight Austria, because otherwise the House of Savoy will be driven out of the kingdom of Sardinia by Marshal Radetsky.

March 15th.—Mr. Edwardes does not appear to be exactly popular in Paris, for I hear he has twice been black-balled for the Grammont Club, and on the last occasion there were so many black balls in the box that they could not shut the lid!

It is very difficult to understand from the newspapers the course of fighting between the Austrians and the Hungarians, because their geography is so hopelessly at fault. However, it is equally difficult to get a decent map of Hungary.

March 20th.—A Note has gone to Lord Normanby at Paris concerning interference in favour of the Pope, to the effect that as we have so many Roman Catholic subjects we will verbally back up France, but having also so many Protestant subjects we cannot actively do anything.

The new King of Holland left London yesterday for The Hague. He was sent over here by his father, the late King, because he had appeared at the theatre with his mistress when the King was in the Royal box with his (the Prince's) wife. This was considered to be unpardonable publicity of the intrigue, hence His Royal Highness's temporary

exile, which now ends by his ascending the throne.

On the 12th, Sardinia gave notice that the armistice would terminate to-morrow, and hostilities are to recommence.

March 21st.—People at home are much perturbed by the battle of Chillianwallah, and especially by Lord Gough's tactics, which are blamed by everybody. The mess made there by the 14th Light Dragoons is attributed to Brigadier Pope, who is an infantry officer, knows nothing about cavalry, and had never been under fire before. In the charge he held up his sword, which the 14th took to be the signal to halt, and did so, whereupon a volley was poured into them by the Sikhs, and they retired (by Brigadier Pope's order of "Threes-about," it is alleged), masking our guns in doing so.

They say that Count de Revel, who was Sardinian Minister in London until his recall last January because he did not approve of the line of policy of his Sovereign, has been put into the National Guard and marched to the front.

Affairs look bad between Russia and Turkey, and the usual sparring between Palmerston and Baron Bunsen (Prussian Minister in London) about Sleswig affairs continues.

March 26th.—I am told that if the Austrians are not careful Kossuth will be marching through Budapesth to Vienna, and that Komarom,¹ on the Danube, is an immensely strong place, partly from

¹ Or Comom.

its fortifications and partly from its natural position, which prevents the breaching of its works by the Austrian besieging force.

March 27th.—The Sardinians having been well beaten at Novara on the 24th, King Charles Albert has abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II, who, with his brother, is said to have fought well, and to be a much better man than his father.

March 30th.—It is expected that peace will be made at once. France will not allow the Austrians to keep any Piedmontese territory, and if they do it will be *casus belli*.

In India, General Whish, having reduced Mooltan on January 21st, effected a junction with Lord Gough, who on February 24th attacked the Sikhs and Afghans at Goojerat, decisively defeating them with little loss to us, and a vigorous pursuit was undertaken by Sir Walter Gilbert.

May 1st.—Field-Marshal Prince Paskiévich, of Polish renown (or infamy, according to which view is taken of his methods of suppressing the last Polish insurrection), has entered Hungary with 130,000 Russian troops.

The Hungarian Parliament decreed the deposition of the House of Habsburg, and on April 14th this was proclaimed by Kossuth at Debreczen. This was an unfortunate step, as it gave the Czar an excellent pretext for actively interfering in order to restore his brother Emperor to the throne of Hungary.

Komarom was relieved, and only the towns of Buda and Temesvar remain in the hands of the

Austrians, while General Bem has cleared the Austrian and Russian troops out of Transylvania.

Kossuth and Görgey having quarrelled over the plan of campaign, the latter, instead of marching to Vienna as Kossuth advised him to, has laid siege to and captured Buda by assault.

May 6th.—The French expedition, 25,000 strong, sent against the Republicans under Garibaldi, has failed to enter Rome after several attempts, in which they lost 900 men.

It was officially announced in Vienna on the 1st that troops had been asked for from Russia, and that the request had been granted.

May 16th.—An insurrection has broken out in Montreal, because the Canadian Rebellion Losses Indemnity Bill had been approved by Lord Elgin,¹ the Governor-General. The loyal British considered the rebels were being rewarded for rebellion, and a mob of them pelted Lord Elgin, burned the Parliament House with its library, and pillaged the Ministers' houses.

May 23rd.—From Paris I hear that the recent elections for the French Assemblée have gone badly for those who desire the preservation of law and order. Although there is a "Moderate" majority, it is so split up into parties that there is no certainty of their acting together against the Socialist or "Rouge" party. Even the Army, on which the peace of Paris depends, is becoming infected with "Rouge" principles.

Being pressed by Sir Walter Gilbert, the Afghans

¹ 8th Earl.

withdrew to their mountain passes, and on March 14th 15,000 Sikhs laid down their arms and surrendered their guns. As a native Government had failed, the Punjaub was annexed by Lord Dalhousie on March 29th. The Maharajah Duleep Singh gets a handsome pension, and is coming to England to live.

June 5th.—The French have again attacked Rome, and have obtained possession of the Villa Pamphili-Doria on the west, but they are not yet in the town, and are reluctant to use heavy artillery against it.

June 10th.—The Hungarians, assisted by the Polish Generals Bem, Dembinski, and Vysotski, are more than holding their own.

In Dresden there has been a lot of street fighting, and the Grand Duke of Baden has had to fly from his dominions.

The Frankfort Assembly has done no good, as the Princes will not give up their selfish aims in order to promote the common welfare of an united Germany. The King of Prussia in April refused the Imperial crown, and it is a duel between Austria and Prussia as to which is to dominate Germany.

June 26th.—General Lüders has entered Transylvania with 60,000 Russians. The Austrians have 140,000 men in the field.

July 6th.—The French entered Rome on the 3rd, after two days' hard fighting. As the inhabitants refused to participate in the defence of the town, Garibaldi and his men left it, whereupon Rome capitulated.

July 7th.—The well-known singer, Mademoiselle Sontag, who created a great sensation twenty years ago and retired from the stage on her marriage with Count Rossi, has been compelled to reappear on the boards owing to the destruction of her husband's fortune in the recent troubles in Italy. She made her debut to-night in "Linda di Chamouni," and sang beautifully.

The Frankfort Assembly having moved to Stuttgart, its meetings were suppressed on June 18th by the troops of the King of Würtemberg.

July 21st.—I went down to Chobham to witness the Royal Engineers conducting some siege operations, which were very interesting to an enormous crowd of spectators.

It is very difficult to follow the course of the war in Hungary, but it appears that the greater part of the Hungarian Army has been concentrated astride the Danube between Comom, Buda-Pesth, and Szegedin. Paskiévich, who has 165,000 men, so manœuvred behind the Carpathian mountains to the north-west and west that the Hungarians did not know whence his blow would fall. By marching and counter-marching he so deceived them that on a given day his huge columns passed unmolested through defiles where a single regiment could have effectually stopped their progress, and he is now in the open country. Görgey, however, is determined to strike one more blow, and is believed to have moved out of Comom and to be threatening Paskiévich's right.

July 25th.—Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, was badly defeated by the Hungarians on the 14th, and

ought to have been destroyed. As it was he was driven back eighty miles to Ruma on the Danube.

From Berlin I hear that Lord Westmoreland, our Ambassador, is very much against the Hungarians, and that the Russians in Poland say the occupation of Hungary by their armies is not going to be merely a temporary one!

July 28th.—The Hungarian War is not by any means popular with the Russian Army, with the exception of the Czar, who takes the most intense interest in it, and has couriers every other day direct from Paskiévich's headquarters.

The Czar is described as being as mad as a March hare! When the news reached him of an engagement, in which his favourite Cossack regiment took off their clothes and swam across a river with the bridles of their horses in their teeth, he threw his forage-cap in the air and danced a fandango after a most lively fashion!

Görgey, hearing that General Haynau had detached a considerable force of Austrians towards Buda-Pesth, sallied out of Komarom and made a desperate attack upon the troops in front of that place, and would have gained a decisive victory had not Panakin's Russians come upon the scene, forcing him to again retire to the fortress.

August 1st.—Under the command of Dembinski and Görgey (who was badly wounded in the neck in the last battle), 45,000 Hungarians with 120 guns have broken out of Komarom, and are making for the mountains to the north-west. Paskiévich has had to face about, has detached 20,000 men to hang

upon the rear of the Hungarians, and has ordered General Grabbe, with 16,000, to move south upon Görgey's left flank.

General Haynau reached Buda-Pesth on the 19th, and moved to the west on the 21st to support Paskiévich's new right.

The Russian Generals Lüders and Clam Gallas are keeping their immense forces inactive in the south-west, and Jellachich is unable to move. General Bem is also somewhere in the south-west of the theatre of war, but it is very hard to "fix" him as being anywhere.

Meanwhile the Turks are moving troops to the Wallachian frontier.

August 3rd.—From Warsaw Colonel Towneley writes that he had learned that Görgey had escaped from between the two armies of Paskiévich and Grabbe, and by a series of most masterly movements had joined hands with General Bem. In order to hold Paskiévich while he effected his escape, Görgey detached five battalions, who carried out their mission most effectively and then disbanded themselves, but they will probably find their way back to Görgey.

The Russians have occupied Hermanstadt; its garrison, 1,400 strong, having retreated into Wallachia, where they were disarmed by the Turks.

Towneley goes on to say: "In honour of the Czarewitch, who arrived in Warsaw yesterday, there was a grand review to-day of the Circassians and Cossacks of the Guard, with their Field Artillery.

The Czar and Czarewitch rode down the line and then went to the saluting-point for the march-past of the forty-five squadrons. The Emperor himself gave the words of command, and I have never heard such a powerful parade voice, and every syllable must have been audible by every man on the ground. The troops first trotted and then galloped past, and nothing could have been more perfect than the dressing. How they manage it I cannot conceive, for the Cossack horse is a small, thick-set animal, with an ewe neck, and addicted to falling, and the light single-rein snaffle with which they are ridden seems quite a trifle in their mouths. The Guards are a magnificent body of men, especially the Circassians, who wear beautiful chain mail.

“As each squadron went past the Emperor he put his hand up to his Cossack cap and said, ‘Well done, my children,’ upon which each man roared out, ‘We will try to do better, Papa.’

“The Field Artillery were ordered to take up a position on the left of the line, and the pace at which the guns, six-pounders, drawn by six horses, moved at the gallop was surprising even to a man like myself, who has a lively recollection of the English Horse Artillery.

“It is undoubtedly a national feeling, as Lord Palmerston says, which inspires the Magyars, although the *Times* newspaper affects to sneer at any such idea, and I will give you an instance. Last year, on the Danube, I met Colonel Mazaros, who, after commanding the Radetsky Hussars in

the campaign against Sardinia, was on his way to Presburg to take the portfolio of Minister of War for Hungary. He was very straightforward in his professions of attachment to Austria, but he could not refuse the national call of his countrymen."

August 5th.—Towneley writes: "Just as I was leaving Warsaw two nights ago General Fanshawe, in the Russian Army, came to see me. He had just left the Imperial Palace and had seen young Prince Paskiévich, who is aide-de-camp to his father, and had come from his father's headquarters. The Hungarians, 75,000 strong, but daily increasing owing to the return of the peasants who have been gathering in the harvest, are practically surrounded by the Russians, 150,000 strong, and General Haynau's Austrians, and a decisive action is expected in a few days. The General told me a story of the Czar which is somewhat amusing. The Emperor of Austria had appointed the Czar to be colonel of a hussar regiment, which at the time was serving in the Austrian Army in Hungary. Very shortly afterwards the whole regiment, from the lieutenant-colonel to the youngest trumpeter, went bodily over to Görgey. Soon afterwards the Emperor of Austria came to Warsaw, and was met on the platform by the Czar, who, dressed in the uniform of the regiment which had behaved so badly, came forward with his hand to his hussar cap and said, 'I beg to report myself as the only man in the whole regiment who has remained faithful to your

Imperial Majesty,' at which both Emperors laughed."

August 7th.—The other night the Czar said at his dinner-table that if 200,000 Russians were not enough for the Hungarian rebellion he would send 400,000.

Guyon, who is one of the leaders of the Hungarians, used to be in one of our dragoon regiments.

Prince Paskiévich does not like his command, firstly because he is an old man and his health is suffering from the worry and the heat, which is intense; secondly because if he is successful he will be made Generalissimo of the Russian Army, which would take him from Warsaw, where he is a sort of second Emperor and has entirely his own way except in matters in which his wife takes an interest. She, it appears, does not approve of His Highness's ardent admiration for the ballet and its attendant *danseuses*, and her onslaughts are doubtless even more embarrassing to the Prince than those of the Hungarians! But he is the best man for the command, very cool, very determined, and though he "bides his time," yet when he does strike his enemy feels it.

August 10th.—The sensational murder of O'Connor by the Mannings has caused much excitement. Manning used to be a guard on the Great Western Railway, and his wife, a Swiss named Roux, was lady's maid to the Duchess of Sutherland.¹ It transpires that they hid the

¹ Wife of 2nd Duke.

corpse under the floor of their room and for several days ate their meals at the table standing over the spot!

[They were hanged on November 13th in front of Horsemonger Lane Gaol.]

August 12th.—Whilst Field-Marshal Prince Paskiévich's army was following Görgey's towards the mountains the other day, a Russian General with 1,500 of the best mounted cavalry was ordered to hang upon the rear of the Hungarians, and so thoroughly did he carry out his mission that one morning he found himself surrounded by the enemy. Retreat was impossible, but his presence of mind did not forsake him. Sending forward one of his officers with a flag of truce, he demanded the unconditional surrender of Görgey with the troops under his command, as they were surrounded by two Russian *corps d'armée*. Oddly enough, at the same moment information reached Görgey that the head of a Russian column had been seen distinctly in another direction. Görgey invited the Russian General to come and see him, and told him he could not take so decisive a step without the consent of the Generals under his orders. At the same time his main body was put in motion, and whilst the Hungarian leader and the Russian General were drinking champagne together, both were withdrawing their troops and mutually deceiving each other. Several ladies were present, and amongst them was Görgey's wife, a very beautiful woman. After about half an hour Görgey filled his glass and drank to the health

of the Emperor of Russia, saying at the same time he bore him no ill will for the part he had taken against him!

The Russians are suffering much from cholera and the local typhus fever which they call the "black death," and have lost 4,000 men already. Klapka, who commands at Comom, has made a sortie from that fortress and beaten back the Austrian forces beyond Raab, which is now in his hands.

The Austrians and Russians are beginning to blame one another for their ill success.

August 19th.—General Bem was defeated near Segesvar by General Lüders, and so hotly pursued that his secret and important papers fell into the hands of the Russians. Paskiévich has succeeded in bringing Görgey to action twice, inflicting a loss of 6,000 men. The Russians find much difficulty in getting provisions, which delays their movements. General Haynau and the Russian General Pancictin on the 5th defeated and drove off Görgey, Dembinski, Mazaros, and Guyon with a loss of four guns and nearly five hundred prisoners. Kossuth is said to be near Semlin on the Danube with only a few followers.

August 27th.—Görgey surrendered at Vilayos on the 12th, with his troops and 120 guns. If he had held out for another three weeks, the Russians would have been obliged to retire upon their base, owing to want of provisions. Dembinski had still 30,000 men and Bem a considerable force. Görgey has gone to Rudiger's headquarters.

Towneley writes from Warsaw : " Nothing could exceed the joy of all parties here at the news. Young Paskiévich brought the despatches, and, arriving late, was ushered into the Imperial and sleeping Presence. He sat down on a very hard chair a captain and rose from it a colonel. There have been great rejoicings here. The theatres were opened, there was a grand review and a *Te Deum* at which some small Polish schoolboys refused to kneel down, and this heinous patriotic sin they doubtless had to expiate with smarting sterns.

"The Czar himself was to have taken command if the war had gone on much longer. This would have been luck for the Hungarians!

"Lamoricière, the French Ambassador, has incurred the Imperial displeasure by deviating from the direct road to Warsaw in order to visit Cracow, the rebellious. In consequence he is now suffering in body for the sins of his mind, for the Emperor ordered a very nice house, which had been prepared for him, to be closed, and Lamoricière has had to go to a very common inn indeed, albeit the best in Warsaw.

"It appears that Kossuth and Görgey had a split some time ago, the latter recommending a guerilla war, while the former was strongly in favour of the concentration of the Hungarian Army in the centre of the kingdom, and this led to a personal quarrel. There is a general chorus of praise of the masterly way in which Görgey handled his troops, and a strong feeling that he accepted a bribe to surrender from Paskiévich.

“Notwithstanding all this, troops and ammunition are still on their way from Warsaw into Hungary.”

August 31st.—Bem, having retreated to Transylvania, was met by the Russians at Deva, and was given an armistice of twenty-four hours to consider surrender. Finding he could not control his men, he resigned his command, and with Guyon, Stein, and several others he went to Turkey.

September 3rd.—From Berlin Towneley tells me “the Grand Duke Michael was inspecting a cavalry brigade at Warsaw on the 25th, when he was suddenly seized with apoplexy, paralysis, and cholera, and is dying.

“Paskiévich is expected in Warsaw to-day, and Görgey is with him. The Field-Marshal gave great offence to the Austrians by commencing his despatch to the Czar thus: ‘Sire, Hungary is at your feet.’ I hear the great majority of the Poles with Dembinski have escaped to Orsova, a small island on the Danube belonging to Turkey. Bem is said to have reached Italy, and the other insurgents are hurrying, hotly pressed by the Austrians, to give themselves up to the Russians. Klapka has refused to surrender Komarom.”

September 9th.—Bem, Dembinski, and Guyon, are in Widdin under Turkish protection. The Russian troops are withdrawing from Hungary. The Grand Duke Michael is dead. He was a great brute in some respects but exceedingly liberal to the old retired officers of the Army, amongst whom he spent an enormous fortune, and his death

will be severely felt by a class who stand greatly in need of so kind a friend.

September 10th.—After holding out for five months against bombardment, Venice surrendered to the Austrians on August 28th.

September 17th.—I hear from Towneley that the Emperor never left his brother during his illness, and was so much excited that ice had constantly to be applied to his temples for fear he should have a similar seizure.

Paskiévich gives the greatest possible credit to the Hungarian leaders and troops, and says that during the whole time he was in the country they had contrived, by a series of masterly combinations, to prevent themselves being brought to a decisive action. He also says that whilst near the River Theiss he had in six days 15,000 men attacked by cholera, of whom over 8,000 died.

The Russians are to leave a Corps of Observation in Gallicia.

In order to soothe the Austrian Emperor's feelings, the Czar sent to Vienna the standards which Paskiévich had taken from the Hungarians. When these were unrolled before the Emperor of Austria it was found that the greater number of them consisted of his own standards, which the Hungarians had captured from the Imperial Austrian troops!

The Austrian Government is said to be going to treat their prisoners with clemency, and the Emperor has ordered that no sentence of a court-martial is to be carried into effect without his personal sanction.

Görgey is at Klagenfurt, a prisoner at large in the citadel.

October 26th.—Klapka surrendered Komarom on October 5th, whereupon Haynau began punitive measures. The Honveds are to be incorporated in the Austrian Army, hundreds of Hungarian patriots have been executed, and the thirteen Generals who surrendered with Görgey on August 12th were shot by Haynau's orders at Arad on the 13th. At Pesth, Count Louis Batthyany had been condemned, by an irregular court-martial, to be hanged on the same day, but Countess Karolyi managed to smuggle into his prison a knife, with which he so wounded his throat that he had to be shot instead on the 16th.

Amongst Haynau's cruel exploits was superintending the flogging to death in the street of a wounded Honved lieutenant, whom he imagined had not properly saluted him, and he also had a woman dragged to the market-place, where she was undressed by his soldiers and all but beaten to death, her husband committing suicide in consequence.

Besides alienating those Hungarians who had hitherto adhered to the Austrian monarchy, Haynau's butcheries so roused the indignation of Europe that he has been recalled from his command.

October 28th.—With my sister Elizabeth and her three girls I went over to France for a visit to her relatives, the Comte and Comtesse de Castries, who gave me several days' partridge and rabbit shooting. The birds were very wild, and we could only shoot

them in the woods! One day the Comte, when firing at a partridge, shot his son Edmond in the head, but not much blame could be attached to him, for the boy had been told to keep close behind his father, which, boy-like, he had neglected to do. Fortunately the injuries were not very serious, but taught him a very useful lesson.

November-December.—I was hunting and shooting with my brother in Hertfordshire and with the Cawdors at Stackpole Court. I got some excellent sport.

December 2nd.—My French news is that Louis Napoleon intends soon to proclaim himself Emperor. This will not please the upper classes, who will look upon him as an usurper, but most people say it will please the masses, who are already tired of the Republic.

December 13th.—The Dowager Queen Adelaide having died at Bentley Priory, Stanmore, on 2nd, was buried to-day in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

CHAPTER IV

1850-1852

Greece and Don Pacifico—French politics—A Foreign Service Messenger's ride—Prince Rupert's marriage—Death of King Louis Philippe—The thrashing of General Haynau—The anti-Papal agitation—Sir Henry Bulwer's bracelet—Queen Victoria and Sir John Conroy—Miss Talbot and the Roman Catholic Church—The Great Exhibition—Lord Palmerston and Kossuth—The *Coup d'État* of 1851—A Society scandal—The dismissal of Lord Palmerston—The Kaffir War—"La Guizotte"—The new régime in Paris—Prince Louis Napoleon's mistress—The wreck of the *Birkenhead*—The birth of the "Foreign Office List"—The death and funeral of the Duke of Wellington—Prince Louis Napoleon assumes the Imperial title—I am appointed Précis Writer.

1850

January 1st.—In the Office there has been some excitement owing to the slackness of one of the clerks. Backed up by France, we were going to make a treaty with Brazil about the River Plate affairs, and instructions as to its provisions were sent to Mr. Southerne, our Minister at Rio, but a copy of them was not sent to Lord Normanby, our ambassador in Paris, as the clerk should have done. Hence Normanby knew nothing about it until the French Foreign Office told him what they

had heard from their own people! The clerk in question is also in the black books of Hammond, the Under-Secretary, for smoking in the "nursery."

January 3rd.—It is stated that our fleet, having entered the Dardanelles, has been fired upon by the Turks, and the reason for its being there is that Russia and Austria, having abruptly demanded from Turkey the surrender of Kossuth and other refugees, Turkey refused and appealed for help to England and France. Lord Palmerston had been so disgusted at the suppression of Hungary by Russia, and at the cruelties of Austria in dealing with her insurgents, that we sent a remonstrance to Russia, and to hurry up her answer the French and British fleets went to the Dardanelles last October. By the treaty of July 13, 1841, the Dardanelles are closed to warships of the five Powers, Austria, England, France, Prussia, and Russia. It transpired later that the fleets had entered the Dardanelles under stress of weather—at least that was the explanation accepted. Austria and Russia did not press their demand, and it was soon withdrawn. [But the Czar Nicholas was very much shocked at our behaviour, and never forgave it!]

Austria is so afraid of the refugees being near her frontier that she offered them such favourable terms of repatriation that 3,000 accepted, after 400 had died in two months of starvation. Bem and several hundred others have turned Turk, whilst Kossuth, Batthyany, Vysotski and others have been sent to Kutahia, in Asia Minor, to reside.

January 18th.—Lord Canning's fainting fit whilst

out shooting the other day at Windsor is attributed to the visit of a certain lady, which very considerably annoyed him, as the interview was of a stormy nature, and he had fears it might come to the knowledge of Her Majesty. Lady Canning is said to be not in the least disturbed about this lady.

February 1st.—The news from Greece is that our Minister, Mr. Wyse, has demanded payment of our claims on behalf of Don Pacifico and Mr. Finlay within twenty-four hours, the King of Greece has refused satisfaction, Sir William Parker's fleet is in Salamis Bay, and both France and Russia have offered their mediation, which Mr. Wyse has not accepted.

Don Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew who, being a native of Gibraltar, is a British subject, had his house at Athens pillaged by a mob, and in it he alleges there were important papers relative to a claim he has against the Portuguese Government. He therefore claims £31,500. Mr. Finlay had part of his property incorporated in the Royal gardens, and cannot get the price he demands. Both have been pressing the Home Government for several years to interfere, and at last Lord Palmerston has sent our fleet.

The Russians have sent us a strong remonstrance.

February 12th.—Sir William Parker has seized some Greek merchant-ships, and the mediation of France, in the person of Baron Gros, has been accepted by us in the hope of inducing the Greeks to meet the claims.

March 4th.—Greek affairs were discussed in Parliament, and Lord Aberdeen said he knew nothing about the claims, but it appears there are dispatches written by him about them when he was in office, 1841–5. It is very convenient sometimes to forget things!

March 11th.—The *Morning Post* approves of Lord Palmerston's action about Greece.

March 13th.—By Count Nesselrode's second Note, Russia does not appear to be so angry with us as at first appeared. Sir William Parker has suspended reprisals pending Baron Gros's arrival at Athens.

March 18th.—Opinion in Paris is that our behaviour to Greece is discreditable to Lord Palmerston and the British nation, and is an attempt to ruin, because of our jealousy of her growing maritime and mercantile affairs, a little country which we have hitherto protected! Baron Gros arrived at Athens on the 5th.

March 19th.—There was a debate last night about keeping up the squadron on the West Coast of Africa to prevent the slave trade, as it costs us three millions a year, though some say only one million. Many members were absent, thinking the debate would last two nights, but Lord John Russell, seeing he had a majority in the House, forced a division, and the Government got a majority of seventy-eight. On the whole a smart political move!

April.—During a visit to Paris I met many of the French relations of my sister Elizabeth Harcourt,

and they told me that some great change is expected in Paris, for the garrison has again been increased to eighty thousand men, which accounts for the streets being so full of soldiers.

A few days ago the President sent for the heads of the Legitimist and Orleanist parties, and asked them if they would unite and form a Ministry. After a while they agreed to this, and left the Palace quite under the impression that they were to form a new Government. But they were mistaken, for the President having at once told General Changarnier what he had done, the latter said that if that change took place he could not answer for its acceptance by the Army. This declaration completely upset the President's little plan, if he ever seriously entertained it at all!

General Changarnier is described as a silent man, but keeps his eyes and ears open, conceals whatever political bias he may have, is a good General, and means to preserve order.

The Army is said to be getting disorganized and Socialistic doctrines are spreading through the ranks.

The Marquis d'Harcourt¹ has had an interview at Claremont with King Louis Philippe, who desired him to tell all his friends to think no more about him, but of "Henri Cinq," and finished by saying, "Personne n'est plus Légitimiste que moi." Consequently the Orleanists are very low in spirit.

My sister met Monsieur Lamartine at a party one evening, and he said he was quite ready to

¹ Brother of William Harcourt.

have the Revolution over again, as it was such intensely exciting work. If it did happen again, and he had the authority, he would send all the troops out of Paris, and he himself would talk the people into order! Mobs are fickle and easily swayed, especially in France, but I think he is over-confident as to even his power of persuasion upon a Paris mob, which is nothing if not ferocious.

At the theatres I saw three plays called "Monk ou le Sauveur d'Angleterre," "Le Coup d'État," and "La Restauration des Stuarts." Each was full of most pointed attacks upon a Republican régime, and these gibes were much applauded by the bulk of the audiences, although there was a little hissing at some of the Royalist sentiments.

I went to a ball at the Elysée and was presented to the President. The last time I saw him he was drilling with me as a special constable in 1848.

On the 5th the President went to Vincennes for a review, and when he came back through the Faubourg St. Martin a mob forty thousand strong had assembled. He was hissed and hooted amidst shouts of "Vive la République Démocratique et Sociale!" and it was touch and go that he escaped being torn to pieces. General Changarnier was also hooted, but seeing a soldier in the mob, he put spurs to his horse, seized the man by the collar, and told him he ought to be ashamed of himself while wearing uniform to mix himself up with such *canaille*. This quieted the mob, as they are dreadfully afraid of Changarnier. The President was so vexed at this "manifestation" that he shed tears on his return to the Palace!

Our ambassador, Lord Normanby, and his wife, are not approved of in Paris, as they ask such extraordinary people to the Embassy that the French nobility will not go there ; moreover, they toady the President very much, and Lord Normanby is very friendly with Mrs. Howard, the President's mistress.

I was told that Lord Clanricarde¹ had said to Princess Lieven that the British Government intended to behave towards the King of Greece in the same manner as Russia had acted towards Louis Philippe to get him off his throne, and that she replied, " But if you go on so, do you think the Russians will stand it ? " upon which Clanricarde made a *pied de nez*, which so astonished the Princess that she could not say anything more !

April 10th.—The Government was nearly beaten last night over the window tax. I wish they had been, for light and air ought not to be taxed.

April 18th.—The Pope returned to Rome on 13th, and our messenger, who saw him enter, says he was received very quietly.

April 24th.—I went to a ball at Devonshire House, where there were only about three hundred people. The new young ladies make a better show as to beauty than the *débutantes* of late years.

May 10th.—M. Drouyn de Lhuys (French Ambassador) has drawn up with Lord Palmerston an agreement embodying our final demand, viz., about £8,000, and this was settled on April 18th. It appears that information that this would probably

¹ 1st Marquess.

be done was given to Baron Gros on April 24th. But nothing was sent to Mr. Wyse on the subject. Meanwhile Gros on April 21st announced his failure in mediation, Mr. Wyse started reprisals again, and on 26th the Greeks paid down about £35,000 by a Treasury Bill, which it is hoped will be honoured.

Lord Howden¹ is appointed Minister at Madrid, after a lapse of eighteen months in our representation there.

May 15th.—M. Drouyn de Lhuys left London yesterday, and France is demanding satisfaction from us over Greece. The quarrel appears to be because there was a verbal agreement between Drouyn de Lhuys and Palmerston that if Mr. Wyse did not approve of Baron Gros's conditions the blockade, &c., was not to be resumed until orders were received from England. This condition was not sent to Mr. Wyse, who, not agreeing with the Gros proposals, caused the resumption of reprisals.

May 18th.—It is now stated that Lord Normanby in March knew that this mess would probably happen, but as he had copies of all Mr. Wyse's dispatches and instructions and knew of everything that was going on, it is very strange he should have kept silent.

May 19th.—A very long dispatch of explanation and regret about the recall of the French Ambassador was sent off to-night to Lord Normanby.

May 21st.—The Duke of Devonshire gave a

¹ 1st Baron.

magnificent ball to-night, to which "all the world" went.

May 23rd.—Lord Palmerston made a great speech in the House about Greece, and was loudly cheered, but I do not think it will be very palatable to the French.

I hear the French and Russians in Paris are furious about Greece, and they think that diplomatic relations will be broken off unless Mr. Wyse grants the more favourable terms which arrived forty-eight hours too late. In Princess Lieven's salon, animated and curious throngs buzz against us like a swarm of angry bees. The Russian Minister is triumphant at the discomfiture of France, and says it serves her right for being in such a hurry to offer her mediation, and to count upon the *entente cordiale*. However, he is very angry at the turn of affairs, and says France has now had *her* lesson and that England's is still to come.

French politicians are very unhappy about the state of France. M. Molé says "the trunk of the tree is rotten, and not one healthy fibre remains to save it from perishing!" The language used by the "Rouges" in the faubourgs is dreadful, and M. Merodac, who had been round the faubourgs, in relating his experiences said, "En écoutant ces malheureux impies je me suis demandé dans quelle caverne de démons suis-je entré? La France est-elle corrompue, dépravée à ce point." M. Montalembert says the same people who are corrupting France are working in an underhand way in

England, and he considers the Exhibition of 1851 the greatest calamity for England, as it will be a pretext for all the bad set who work upon the feelings of the *ouvriers* in Paris to go to England to work mischief there.

May 24th.—The Socialist party in Paris is much upset by the voting in the Assemblée over the *loi électorale*. They held a meeting a few days ago, at which the following propositions were put forward:—

1. Not to erect barricades again, as the soldiers knew very well how to demolish them. Carried.

2. To set fire to and pillage the city. Rejected, as it is not the way to make the party popular.

3. To wreak vengeance upon the seventeen members of the Committee on the *loi électorale* by assassinating them. Carried unanimously.

But so far M. Molé and his sixteen Committee-men are still alive.

May 27th.—In the House of Commons to-night Lord Palmerston highly praised my friend, Colonel Towneley, for his ride in October last from Belgrade to Constantinople. The distance was five hundred and fifty miles, and besides the difficulties of the road the danger from wild characters on the way was great. He was carrying a most important Foreign Office dispatch at the time when the question of war between Russia and Turkey was in the balance. This is what Towneley wrote to me at the time from Therapia on November 5, 1849: "I left the whole of my things at Belgrade

on my way through, because one cannot travel fast in Turkey with anything in the shape of a baggage-horse, and when I found that the Austrian despatches, which crossed over the Danube in the same boat with me from Semlin, had got three hours' start of me, I left everything behind except what I could carry on my saddle. By doing this, although I have been wretchedly uncomfortable ever since, I succeeded in reaching Constantinople one day and nine hours before the Austrians, although to ensure the greatest possible despatch they had one Tătar (a courier) from Belgrade to Nissa, a second from Nissa to Philippopoli, and a third on to Constantinople. I am now wearing Jerningham's waistcoat, Lord Mandeville's¹ hat, Hughes' shirt, Pisani's braces, and an odd handkerchief or two borrowed from Captain Connolly, a visitor. You can fancy what misery this is to a particular fellow like myself, who cannot, to use the words of one of my admirers, 'travel about without a valet as fine a gentleman as himself.' It shows, however, that a fine gentleman don't mind roughing it when there is a sufficient motive for so doing. I am now almost quite well again, and shall not be sorry to find myself in the saddle, but no more sleepless nights for five long nights unless there is an absolute necessity! If any of the gentlemen of the Foreign Office would like to know the sensation about the middle of the fifth night when rocking and reeling in the saddle, I should strongly advise them to try it! I never was so dead beat

¹ Afterwards 7th Duke of Manchester.

in my life, and the doctor here says that if I had not taken the six hours' sleep which the knocking up of my horses between Philippopoli and Eskar obliged me to take I should have had a very serious illness indeed. I was quite ill enough as it was, and my wound is still open. The nights were so inky black that although I was immediately behind the Tatar very frequently I lost sight of him altogether, and went blundering on for miles without knowing in the least whither my horse was taking me. The rain, too, came down in torrents, and the country was a swamp, through which we floundered up to our saddle-girths in mud. The two heavy falls I had between Adrianople and Chorlu shook me a good deal, too, and on the last occasion I had a most providential escape from a broken limb, for although my foot turned underneath the horse and he lay upon it, twisting the spur like a piece of thin wire, my ankle was not injured!

"Rhiso, our old and faithful Tatar, who accompanied me from Alexinitza, was worth his weight in gold. Between Tatar Bazarchik and Philippopoli I saw him discussing the contents of a water-melon, about the size of a hat, and when on taking my bath there I found that my linen was covered with blood (my wound had opened) and poor Rhiso taken with the most sudden and violent sickness (thanks to the water-melon), I thought it was all up with the *quick* delivery of Lord Palmerston's despatches. However, things mended when we once more got into the saddle, and my pains did not recommence until I found myself laid upon my

back here, and then, by Jingo! they were bad enough.

"I think I have told you that I accomplished the distance in five days and eleven hours, which entailed being six nights and five days in the saddle, and that it is the quickest messenger journey ever performed even in the summer!

"Sir Stratford, although unboundedly kind to me (I live at the Embassy), is, I see, a regular Tartar with his subalterns, and they are terribly afraid of him, running about at his slightest behest like Tom cats! . . . Layard is now absent in Mosul, grubbing amongst the ruins of Nimroud. . . . Lord Mandeville talks of returning with me, but I should think three hours jolting on the back of a Turkish post-horse would give his next brother every chance of becoming Duke of Manchester.

"You ask me how I dress for posting in the Russian winter? Well, first of all, two pairs of stockings, the under ones of silk, two waistcoats, a short jacket lined with Astrakan fur, over that a pilot coat lined with marten, and covering all a large coat made from the Armenian raccoon. On my feet I have huge boots, the outside formed of untanned elk-hide, and the lining composed of bearskin. The only visible part of my whole body is the end of my nose, which I every now and then keep twitching just by way of reminding it not to fall asleep and get frostbitten. With all this mass of covering I am often far from being uncomfortably warm. This will give you some idea of a Russian winter. I should create a very great

sensation could I thus make my appearance in Bond Street!"

June 1st.—In Mr. Warburton's "Life of Prince Rupert," which has just been published, he states that the Prince was not married to Lady Anne Bard. My sister Elizabeth has a certificate of their marriage in Petersham Church in 1664, signed by one Pegwell, and also a letter from Lady Anne to her uncle mentioning the marriage.

This certificate may possibly be all right, but Pegwell was not the parson of Petersham, though he might have been called in for the ceremony, which in those days was often enough irregularly performed. It is curious that the page in Petersham Church register on which the marriage would have been recorded had it taken place there, has been torn out.

Lady Anne was the elder daughter of Sir Henry Bard, Earl of Bellamont, a great cavalier, who lost his life in a sandstorm in Persia whilst on an embassy to the Shah on behalf of Charles II in 1660. By Prince Rupert she had one son, Dudley Bard, who was killed at the siege of Buda in 1686, aged nineteen. Her sister Persiana's grandson, was Richard Bard Harcourt, whose daughter Sophia was Marquise d'Harcourt and mother of my sister's husband, William Harcourt, Marquis d'Harcourt, also of Georges, Marquis d'Harcourt, and of the Comtesses de St. Aulaire and de Castries.

June 10th.—At Lady Jersey's party I saw the Nepaulese Ambassador, most gorgeously dressed and covered with diamonds and emeralds.

June 19th.—In the House of Lords last night Lord Stanley of Bickerstaffe's ¹ motion censuring the Government of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston for their conduct of Greek and other foreign affairs was carried by thirty-seven votes.

June 25th.—Mr. Roebuck having introduced in the Commons a vote of confidence in the Government, Lord Palmerston made a magnificent speech lasting four and a half hours, "from the dusk of one summer evening to the dawn of the following day."

June 26th.—The Queen gave a ball at Buckingham Palace.

June 27th.—Regarding the present political crisis, the story goes that as Lord John Russell was leaving the Palace last night Lord Stanley cried out, "Lord John's going out!" upon which Lord John turned round and said, "Lord Stanley is coming after."

Also at the Palace ball, Lord Stanley went up to Lord Palmerston and, alluding to the division of the 18th, said, "Well, what do you think of our battle of Waterloo the other night?" Upon which Palmerston replied, "Yours you may call Quatre Bras, but Waterloo is to come"—referring to the majority he hopes to get on the 28th.

A new Convention has gone to Athens for approval.

As the Queen was coming out of Cambridge House to-night she was hit on the head with a

¹ Eldest son of 13th Earl of Derby ; was summoned in his father's Barony, 1844.

cane by a man named Pate, who used to be an officer in the 10th Hussars. [He got seven years' transportation for doing so I am glad to think.]

June 29th.—The division in the Commons on Mr. Roebuck's motion resulted in a majority for the Government of forty-six.

July 2nd.—Sir Robert Peel died to-day, having been badly hurt by a fall from his horse in the Park on the 29th.

July 9th.—H.R.H the Duke of Cambridge died last night at Cambridge House, and he was buried at Kew Church on the 16th.

July 29th.—The London Convention giving Greece the more favourable terms has been signed at Athens.

England having mediated between Denmark and Prussia, a treaty of peace was signed on July 2nd; and on July 4th England, Austria, France, and all the Baltic Powers joined in a Protocol to express their desire to preserve the integrity of the Danish monarchy. However, the Sleswigers will not give in to the Danes, and the latter are proceeding to coercive measures, the question of the Duchies and their allegiance having been left open by the Protocol.

July 29th.—The Danes beat the Sleswigers in a fight at Idsted, near Sleswig, on the 25th.

July 31st.—Baron Nathan de Rothschild, having been returned as a Member for the City of London in 1847 and 1849, had been unable to take the oath and his seat in the Commons, as he was of the

Jewish persuasion, and he attempted to do so on the 24th and again yesterday, but was not permitted.

August 14th.—They say in Paris that M. Thiers has been won over to vote for the prolongation of the President's term in 1852, but he only wishes it to be for five years, whereas Louis Napoleon wants it for ten. Nevertheless, the feeling that Changarnier will be elected is gaining ground.

The French are gone balloon-mad, and the other day over seven thousand people went to the Hippodrome to see three women dressed as ballet-dancers go up hanging to the balloon.

August 26th.—King Louis Philippe died to-day.

August 27th.—The Queen having ordered a letter of condolence to be written to the French Royal Family, it was necessary to find out what gentleman was in attendance on the late King. We had no list of the French Court officials, so I was sent over to the Home Office to see the Under-Secretary, who said they had no list, but suggested I should go over to Mr. Mayne, the Police Commissioner. He, again, said they had no list, but he sent for a sergeant, who said he thought he could find out, and in a few minutes returned, saying General Count Chabannes was the aide-de-camp-in-waiting. Thus by the aid of the invaluable police it became possible to comply with Her Majesty's commands at once and in due form!

I hear that before his death King Louis Philippe said he was satisfied a Regency would never succeed in France, and had he thought otherwise

he would have made himself Regent for the Duc de Bordeaux in 1830.

September 2nd.—King Louis Philippe was buried at Weybridge to-day.

September 3rd.—An attack made upon General Haynau of the Austrian Army and two of his friends by the workmen at Messrs. Barclay and Company's brewery, which they were visiting, has occasioned much excitement. In England the General has a bad reputation for cruelty and causing women to be flogged in Hungary in 1848-9. This notorious General managed to escape from a furious mob by the intervention of the police, but not without being badly beaten to the tune of "Down with the Austrian butcher!" and he immediately left England.

This incident is causing trouble with Austria, but much joy in Hungary.

September 23rd.—A note couched in very strong language against General Haynau was sent this morning to Baron Koller, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires. The latter brought back the note, and Lord Palmerston was obliged to modify it before the Austrian would accept it.

September 24th.—Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, to-day sent a note over to the Foreign Office expressing utter disgust at the attack on General Haynau. Nevertheless no notice is to be taken of the illegal action of the brewers' men.

October 16th.—Some French relations and friends of my sister Elizabeth came up to London to-day, and I took them to see some of the sights, including the Tower. They were much struck with the vast

population and the number of carriages and carts in the streets.

October 23rd.—Mid-European politics are seething. Our attaché at Vienna says he thinks a quarrel between Austria and Prussia is likely, and that the Austrian Army would thoroughly beat the Prussian. Denmark having beaten the Sleswig troops under the command of General Willisen at Idsted and Fredericstadt, has been brought up short by the mobilization of the Prussian Army.

Austria considered that the old Diet of the Confederation came again into being when the Assembly of Frankfort was dissolved in June, 1849, but Prussia summoned at Erfurt a conference of as many German States as it could collect. Hence the present tension between Austria and Prussia.

It is stated that Prussia is to be made to adhere to the treaty of July 2nd respecting Denmark and the Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein, and if she does not Russia is to occupy Silesia and France the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, but I doubt it much!

October 24th.—Paris is agitated at the change of War Ministers. General Schramm has succeeded General d'Hautpool, and Louis Napoleon shed tears at being forced to dismiss the latter. Schramm is a creature of Changarnier's, so the President is the more disgusted at having to knock under to him. The ostensible reason is the feasting at the reviews which was sanctioned by d'Hautpool, but highly disapproved of by the Commissioners appointed during the recess.

November 1st.—I am told that the Queen and

Prince Albert are barely on speaking terms with Lord Palmerston, as they do not like his views on foreign affairs.

It looks very like war between Austria and Prussia. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel has had to bolt owing to a revolt against his bad government, and has appealed to Austria to reinstate him, which she proposes to do. Prussia naturally supports the other party. Both are moving troops to Hesse-Cassel.

November 16th.—There has been a fight between Prussian and South German troops at Fulda, and though the casualties were slight, the consequences may be serious. Russia is backing up Austria, and has told Prussia that if she does not evacuate Hesse-Cassel it will be a *casus belli*.

November 18th.—In Paris Louis Napoleon is credited with a wish that war would break out, so that he would have an excuse for putting Changarnier at the head of the French Army, and thus getting him away from Paris, where he is rather a thorn in his side. So long as Changarnier is in Paris the city will be quiet.

November 19th.—The French Army is to be increased by 40,000 men and a *Corps d'Observation* sent to the frontier about Strasburg. The President wishes to give the command to Changarnier, who, however, declines to leave Paris.

The French Minister at Munich says he doubts the sincerity of Prussia in her present less warlike attitude, and suspects it is only a ruse to gain time to get her Landwehr ready for a campaign.

November 23rd.—A few days ago Hanover refused to allow Austrian troops passage to Sleswig across her territory, but gave way, and now Brunswick refuses, and has asked Prussia to support her in the event of their forcing a passage. These refusals are set down to the machinations of Prussia.

November 30th.—During a short visit to Paris I was one evening with Baron and Baroness Delmar when Princess Lieven came in. She was full of a report that General Radowitz, who is a great friend of the Prussian King, and has been in England to inspect our Artillery, Woolwich Arsenal, &c., &c., had not been received by Lord Palmerston on his arrival, which seemed to her very odd, and still more so as the General had been invited to Windsor. She asked me what I knew about it, to which I replied, “*Je n'en sais rien.*” Upon which she said in English, “When you in office say that, it always means you know all about it, but you are always so *boutonné.*”

December 5th.—A Convention at Olmutz on November 29th arranged the suspension of hostilities in Germany, and the reference of disputed matters to joint Commissioners.

December 6th.—Two hundred thousand people from the United States, and eight millions more are expected to come to London during the Exhibition. The Duke of Wellington is reported to insist on there being seven infantry regiments in London next year.

December 7th.—In September last the Pope

issued a Bull dividing England into twelve Roman Catholic Sees, and Cardinal Wiseman was appointed Archbishop of Westminster. This aroused a storm of anti-Papistical feeling in the country. Violent sermons were preached, and deputations and protests by the hundred kept busy those in authority or of influence, from the Queen downwards. The Government proposes to do nothing, but the feeling will be too strong for them.

Cardinal Wiseman's manifesto on November 20th was very able but subtle in the extreme. The Pope has evidently been grossly deceived as to the state of feeling in England, but he has given us an opportunity of showing that we are still a Protestant country. The Bishop of Oxford has come out manfully, but I am afraid "Slippery Sam" is not quite to be depended upon. His brother, Archdeacon Wilberforce, refuses to attend an anti-Papist meeting of his clergy because he disapproves of the present state of our ecclesiastic constitution! He will probably follow other people to Romanism like his brother Harry.

People say the Pope was much encouraged by recent English Governments recognizing Papist bishops in Ireland and the Colonies and by respecting prohibitory acts. The influence of the Puseyites is probably greatly exaggerated, though doubtless some over-zealous perverts have urged on the measure as well as they could.

A few evenings ago M. de Hübener (Austrian Ambassador in Paris) was at Princess Lieven's and said he knew from a most authentic source that

before Wiseman went to Rome he consulted with Lord John and Palmerston, and that they both expressed their approbation of the step. Wiseman accordingly went to Rome and found the Pope and Cardinals sitting in conclave and of opinion it would be an imprudent measure, but when Wiseman said English Ministers approved, their scruples vanished and the Bull was issued.

Wiseman has lately been to Vienna, and it is said Austria is abetting the Pope, for she is only too pleased to annoy us, as she has a grudge against us for our action in encouraging the Italian Liberals in 1848-9.

On November 18th there was a wild rumour that Cardinal Wiseman had been ordered to leave London in forty-eight hours.

There has been a great deal of clerical unrest between the High Church and Evangelical parties over Mr. Gorham's case, in which the Privy Council gave a decision in his favour overriding that of his Bishop. The High Church party were thought to be aiming against the supremacy of the Crown and trying to lead the country to Romanism. The Irish clergy added fuel to the flames by saying the attempt to improve Irish education was irreligious, and talked also rather wildly about other Government measures.

In October Lord John wrote a letter to the Bishop of Durham expressing his indignation at the Pope's action, and hinting that the action of the High Church party had paved the way for it. In this he was quite right, and Cardinal

Wiseman's manifesto in reply could not explain away facts.

The King of Prussia is in a bad way between his internal and external politics. War he does not want, but the National party does. He will be no loss if he has to run away!

1851

January 9th.—Lord Normanby is said to be going to India as Governor-General, and will be succeeded in Paris by Sir Henry Lytton-Bulwer. It is not considered that the latter will be a good ambassador, as he is not yet forgiven there for his conduct when at Madrid in 1845–8 during the Spanish Marriages imbroglio, and he is thought to be too much *lié* with Princess Lieven and Madame Thiers to be able to steer clear of intrigues. He is said, by means of the promise of a diamond bracelet worth 3,000 guineas (which after all he never gave her), to have wormed out of Madame Thiers the secret intention of the French Government in November, 1840, to occupy Port Mahon, in Minorca, when we had to open the eyes of the Spanish Government to what was afoot.

France again has no Ministry, but Changarnier is going, for he is saying goodbye to the regiments in Paris. He will be much missed there in the interests of order, but many people say that, with the best intentions possibly, he was dangerous and imprudent, and he appears latterly to have thrown off the mask and to be a decided Orleanist, which probably partly accounts for Louis Napoleon

wishing to get rid of him. M. du Faure refused to accept the Ministry because the President made Changarnier's dismissal the first condition. The Assemblée are wavering, being afraid to take any particular side, and the President has postponed his weekly Thursday ball for seven days owing to the crisis.

From Paris I hear poor Lord Burghersh¹ suffers dreadfully from the violence of his fits, and has to be shut up. One horrible thing is that he knows when they are coming on, and asks for his strait-waistcoat!

[He died on January 21st.]

January 19th.—The new French Ministry were beaten last night, and have resigned. From Paris I am told the evident tendency of Louis Napoleon is to force on a change of government which will make him Emperor, and Changarnier was one obstacle to this, which he has removed. The Republic cannot last long, and Changarnier shares are rising! Lord Palmerston and Lord Normanby are accused of intriguing in the matter.

Louis Napoleon is said to be favoured by the merchants of Paris, who will give him two millions of francs if the Assemblée refuses his requests for money. Lyons is said to be the only other town that approves the grant to him, and any deficiency will be made up by the Paris merchants. One of the great *marchandes de modes* said she would give 500 francs towards the President's grant, in the hearing of a man who was clean-

¹ Son of 11th Earl of Westmoreland.

ing her windows, whereupon he turned round and said, "Et moi pour cent francs!"

February 4th.—The Queen opened Parliament to-day, and was very angry at the shouts of "No Popery!" which were raised by the crowd.

Rumour has it that recently there was a stormy interview between Her Majesty and Lord John about the Papal Bull agitation. Some say it was because the Government would do nothing against Popery, and others that he had to listen to her denunciations of the agitation against the Roman Catholics. Anyway, I hear she is against Parliamentary interference, and the measure promised in the speech will be a very mild one.

To-day I was told this strange story, which I can scarcely believe: When William IV was dying, Sir John Conroy, who had for many years been Equerry and Comptroller of the Household to the Duchess of Kent, brought to the Princess Victoria a paper which he wished her to sign (people say it was a written promise to make him a marquis after her accession). The Princess refused to do so, whereupon he locked her up in a room or cupboard, but she managed to write on blank leaves of a book two notes, one to Lord Liverpool and the other to Lord Grey, which she threw out of the window to the sentry on the Palace, who picked them up, and they were forwarded to their destinations. Very shortly the noble Lords arrived and released Her Royal Highness from durance vile.

In December, 1837, Queen Victoria, who did

not like him, dismissed Sir John Conroy with a baronetcy and a pension of three thousand a year, having refused to give him the marquise which he was anxious to receive.

I went this evening to the Princess' Theatre to see Charles Kean act in "Henry IV," which he did very well.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Rose,¹ Consul-General in Syria, has been made Secretary of Embassy at Constantinople.

February 5th.—Our Minister at Munich tells me the King of Bavaria is very mad, and always sits alone with wet sponges on his head!

February 7th.—The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, to prevent Roman Catholic Bishops having territorial titles, was brought in by Lord John Russell, who made a very good speech, though he was obviously very nervous. The Bill is a very milk-and-water production, as a counterblast against the Pope.

February 14th.—The division on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was 394 for and 63 against.

February 22nd.—A Cabinet Council was suddenly held yesterday, after which Lord John went to see the Queen. Ministers have resigned owing to the opposition to their financial proposals, but they came to that decision without Lord Lansdowne² who was at Bowood, or Lord Carlisle,³ who was in the City. The latter was returning westwards when he met Lord Normanby, who

¹ Afterwards created Baron Strathnairn.

² 3rd Marquess.

³ 7th Earl.

told him the Ministry were out, to which he replied, "The devil we are!"

February 25th.—Lord Stanley says he cannot form a Government.

February 26th.—Lord John has failed to reconstruct his Ministry, and the Queen has again sent for Lord Stanley.

Being in Paris for a visit, I was told by my French friends that an immense amount of champagne was drunk there to celebrate the good news that Lord Palmerston is out of office, so much is he hated and feared.

The Duc de Bordeaux wishes to go over to the Exhibition and there make a fusion with the Orleanists, but some of his friends say that the overtures ought to come to him first from them, and also that he was not properly received by Queen Victoria when he was last in England.

Mrs. Howard, the President's mistress, is said to be dead, the result of a *fausse-couche*.

March 1st.—From London I hear that the Duke of Wellington was a long time with the Queen on the morning of the 28th, and then Lord Lansdowne was sent for. In the House of Lords, Lord Stanley said he could not form a Ministry owing to the men he wanted lacking the necessary qualifications for office. Lord John is expected to come in again with a Cabinet modified to include some Peelites.

March 4th.—Lord John's Ministry is back in office, and so is Lord Palmerston. Alas! what a waste of champagne!

March 26th.—The Papal Aggression (Ecclesiastical Titles) Bill passed its second reading by 438 to 95.

March 30th.—The case of Miss Augusta Talbot, niece of 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, is still before the Lord Chancellor. She is a ward in Chancery, aged nineteen, and at her majority will inherit £80,000. Her father died on March 14, 1839, and her mother remarried, 10th September, Mr. Craven Fitzhardinge Berkeley and died in 1841, when Miss Talbot was placed under the guardianship of the Shrewsburys, who in September last year placed her in a convent at Taunton as a "postulant" with the intention of her becoming a nun in 1852. Thus her money would fall to the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. Berkeley interfered and petitioned the Lord Chancellor, alleging improper influence had been brought to bear on the girl, while her maternal relatives say she has a genuine vocation to take the veil. The case coming on at the present juncture is causing enormous sensation.

My brother, Frederick Howard, writes: "The last time Miss Talbot's case came before the Court of Chancery the Lord Chancellor said a Roman Catholic Peeress of unblemished character had consented to take charge of her temporarily until some permanent arrangement can be made. The lady is our friend Lady Newburgh.¹ This week we shall have Doctor Douglas' defence, but not even a Jesuit can make a good case in this affair which is a regular exposé of Romanism."

¹ Widow of 7th Earl of Newburgh.

March 31st.—Frederick Howard writes: “We have seen Lady Newburgh, who is expecting Miss Talbot to-day. She refused at first to have her, but the Lord Chancellor begged her to reconsider, and she has now consented to take her until August. Already the girl has had many proposals of marriage, but Lady Newburgh thinks she ought to see the world this season and decide for herself. No very agreeable task for Lady Newburgh, but having undertaken it she is determined to do her duty thoroughly; and a more excellent, conscientious person does not exist. The Duke of Wellington paid her an immense compliment the other night at Lady Jersey’s. He went up to her (he does not usually speak to Lady Newburgh) and said only this, ‘England thanks you!’”

[Miss Talbot did decide for herself by marrying on July 22nd my friend Lord Edward Howard,¹ and so disappointed the priests.]

April 1st.—The following silly riddle is suited to the day: “Why is it very probable that Papal aggression should do well and prosper?” “Because it is the work of a Pius and a Wise man.”

May 1st.—The French political news I gathered during my stay in Paris, which owing to the serious illness of my sister lasted until to-day, is not much. The President and his party are all heavily in debt, and one of his aides-de-camp, when riding into the Elysée Palace a few days ago, was arrested for debt, and the bailiffs would not let him go, until finally the President had to pay the money.

¹ Created Baron Howard of Glossop, December 9, 1869.

“Rouge” feeling and “Rouge” voters are very much on the increase.

The latest “fusionist” plan is that the Duc de Bordeaux should enter France at one point, the Orleanists at another, and between them collect the Army, march on Paris and destroy the Republic, for if the present state of affairs lasts another year they will never get rid of the Republic. It is proposed to give Louis Napoleon, in such an event, a large sum of money and create some post for him such as Connétable de France.

However, I was also told on good authority that the Royalist parties are more opposed than ever, and that the two have split up into six.

Lord and Lady Normanby are still very much disliked, and a few nights ago they were at Princess Lieven’s, where several members of the best Royalist families of both parties refused to shake hands with our ambassador!

Lord Normanby recently dined with Mrs. Howard, who is not dead but quite well.

May 6th.—The Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, which was opened by the Queen on May 1st, and is the fulfilment of a much-derided idea of Prince Albert’s, seems to be a great success. I went there to-day, and thought it magnificent, marvelously interesting, and a triumph for H.R.H. Foreign Powers thought the opening ceremony would be a splendid opportunity for assassins, and the Prince of Prussia was most urgently advised from home not to be present at it. However, the Royal party had a most splendid reception.

May 7th.—The Queen gave a great ball to-night, to which I went.

June 4th.—I went to a dance at Kensington Palace given by the Duchess of Inverness¹ for Prince Henry of the Netherlands.

June 10th.—Old Mr. John Bidwell was talking to me this evening about the rumoured territorial expansion of the United States in the Sandwich Islands and elsewhere, which he said would only hasten their rupture, and that they would divide into Slave States and Free States. [The old gentleman was very nearly true in his prophecy.]

June 30th.—M. Thiers spoke in the Assemblée the other day for three hours against Free Trade, amidst dead silence. Paul Cavaignac at its close said, “Trois voix comme celle-la et la République serait invincible. Quel malheur que cet homme ne soit pas de notres!” Molé and Changarnier were much disturbed at the effect Thiers’ speech produced, not because they were jealous of it, but because they regret that in the present state of affairs the eloquence of one man should be able to produce such a sensation.

July 4th.—The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, having been much altered, passed the third reading by 263 to 49, the Irish members leaving the House before division.

[This Bill was never put into force, and was repealed in 1870.]

July 9th.—The Queen went to the Lord Mayor’s ball at the Guildhall, which I hear was sufficiently

¹ Secondmorganatic wife of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex.

amusing, as many of the worthy burgesses and their wives were ignorant of Court etiquette.

August 11th.—My sister Elizabeth having lent me St. Leonard's Hill for a month, Francis Alston¹ and I have started a bachelor establishment there, going up to London every day for work.

August 26th.—At my request I have been transferred from the French to the Spanish Department of the Office.

September 12th.—General Lopez has landed in Cuba, and the Americans are very angry at his having shot the prisoners.

September 24th.—The slave-dealers in Brazil have offered a bribe of £10,000 to Mr. Hudson, our Minister at Rio de Janeiro, if he would favour them, which he naturally declined to do.

October 11th.—I paid my last visit to the Great Exhibition, which closed to-night. Not a single mishap of any kind has occurred during the five months it has been open.

October 27th.—In the new French Ministry the only man whose name is known even a little is le Marquis Turgot, the Foreign Minister. But my Paris friends tell me the Ministers are only figure-heads put in to tide over Louis Napoleon's projected "coup."

November 17th.—The great Paris lottery in which I had taken some tickets has been drawn blank as far as I am concerned. The *gros lot* was won by a syndicate of eight *ouvriers*, who bought one ticket for a franc and net 400,000 francs.

¹ Afterwards Sir Francis, K.C.B.

Prince Wittgenstein's servant was not content to trust to the favour of unassisted chance, so he bought three hundred tickets at one franc each and sold them in Russia for four francs apiece!

November 18th.—Lord Palmerston made a very Radical reply to the Finsbury Committee who interviewed him in favour of Kossuth, the Hungarian rebel, and he is much blamed for it as an unnecessary provocation to Austria and her friends. The Finsbury address called the Emperors of Russia and Austria “odious and detestable assassins!”

Kossuth, who with Batthyany, Vysotski, and others, had been fetched away from Asia Minor in a ship sent for the purpose by the United States Government, came here last month, and has made many speeches all over the country which have been rapturously received by English Liberals.

Rumour has it that Louis Napoleon is to marry Miss Erskine, daughter of Lady Augustus Gordon-Hallyburton by her first husband, but I consider this to be impossible. However, it is said again that Miss Howard is dying. Prince Castelcicala, the Neapolitan Minister, went to Windsor yesterday to take leave of the Queen, being introduced by Lord Palmerston. The latter went into the Queen's room, began making his speech, and turned round to bring forward the Prince. But the door had swung to behind his Lordship, and there was no Prince, much to the amusement of the Queen and Prince Albert!

December 2nd.—From Paris I hear that a day or

two ago there was a ballot for new members for the Cercle de l'Union, and one of the candidates was a Mr. Gladstone, whose name has twice been withdrawn, because his sponsors discovered just in time that the Continental members would black-ball him, solely on account of his name, so angry are they at W. E. Gladstone's pamphlet about Neapolitan affairs.

This morning, Perrault, the Commander-in-Chief of the Garde Nationale, resigned in a manner far from reassuring, and the Commander of the Paris Regular Division has been relieved.

December 7th.—I have been kept daily informed as to the progress of the *Coup d'État* in Paris.

On the evening of the 1st the President gave a large party at the Elysée, and before coming to this party M. de Morny had been at the Opera. To M. Beville, one of Louis Napoleon's orderly officers, had been entrusted the task of getting the proclamations printed, and at the close of the party he went out of the Elysée, saying, before a great many people, to M. de Maupas, the Préfet de Police, "Eh bien, Monsieur le Préfet, si cela ne vous dérange vraiment pas de me ramener chez moi je profiterai de votre obligeance." Having driven in the Préfet's carriage to Beville's house, they sent it home, and took a fiacre, in which they drove some distance and then dismissed it. Engaging another fiacre, they drove to the Imprimerie Nationale and roused M. de St. George, the Director, who had to get out of bed, when he was told he must prepare for printing immediately a

publication of the President's, which would be sent him in a few minutes. In vain he protested that all his workmen were in bed, he was forced to summon them. When the workmen were all assembled in their ateliers, M. de Maupas made the fiacre drive into the inner courtyard, admitting at the same time a brigade of gendarmerie, whom he had ordered to meet him there. The gates were locked, the two conspirators entered the ateliers, a gendarme was placed at each door and window, and then Beville quietly pulled out of his pocket the Presidential decrees. These were printed, the sheets placed in the fiacre, and they then drove to the Préfecture of Police, whence the decrees were sent out to be posted all over Paris.

As MM. de Maupas and Beville drove to the Préfecture about 2 a.m., they met the first column of troops coming to take up their posts, though no orders had been sent out by the War Minister before midnight.

On the 2nd Paris was full of troops, but there was no bloodshed, and the President rode round twice, being well received. MM. Thiers, Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoricière, and about 363 other Deputies were imprisoned. M. de Morny became Premier, and people were chiefly interested in reading the proclamation, which runs thus :

“AU NOM DU PEUPLE FRANCAIS.

“Le Président de la République décret—

“Art. I.—L'assemblée nationale est dissoute.

“Art. II.—Le suffrage universel est rétablis. La loi du 31 Mai est abrogée.

"Art. III.—Le peuple Français est convoqué dans ses comices à partir du 14 Decembre jusqu'au 21 suivant.

"Art. IV.—L'état du siège est décrété dans l'étendue de la 1^{re} division militaire.

"Art. V.—Le conseil d'État est dissous.

"Art. VI.—Le Ministre de l'Intérieur est chargé de l'exécution du présent décret.

"Fait au Palais de l'Elysée le 2^{ème} Decembre, 1851.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"*Le Ministre de l'Intérieur,*

"DE MORNAY."

On the 3rd Thiers, Cavaignac, and Changarnier were sent to Ham. M. Charrast resisted arrest yesterday, and was killed by his arrestor, after mortally wounding him. This morning some "Rouges" tried to raise barricades in the Rue de St. Antoine, but were stopped. They were headed by some Deputies, two of whom were killed and one wounded, one private soldier was wounded, and one woman killed by accident.

On the 4th the "Rouges" erected barricades, and severe fighting took place in the afternoon. The barricaded streets were surrounded by troops, and about seven hundred insurgents were killed, the War Minister having given orders that no quarter was to be given. Two colonels were killed and one hundred soldiers wounded. The Boulevards present a sorry sight: windows smashed in every direction, and holes where cannon-balls had gone through the walls in the Rues du Bac and de Richelieu.

The provinces admire Louis Napoleon's firmness

and coolness throughout. All is quiet now, or as a Bourse magnate says, "Tout est fini et bien fini."

A great number of the *ouvriers* are in favour of Louis Napoleon, who gained over many by his recent speech, when he distributed Crosses of the Legion of Honour to the exhibitors whom he thought had not been fairly treated in not getting medals at the London Exhibition. The Army also will vote for him as President. The official report gives 1,400 citizens killed and between two and three hundred soldiers killed and wounded. A good many well-dressed ladies were killed, and were found with their hands still in their muffs. A *Deputé* and his wife were seen on the top of one of the barricades, but they ran away before the firing commenced. The bodies were laid out at the cemetery of Montmartre for recognition. After the fighting some soldiers were making a bonfire of the remains of the barricades, and as they placed a broken carriage, used by the insurgents, on top of the fire, they saw a man creep out of the window—he was an insurgent who had hidden himself till then but now had to come out.

Paris now looks as if nothing had happened.

An English politician writes to me: "Thiers is a mischievous, unprincipled little dog! I do not admire this bold measure of the President in suspending all law to promote his ambitious ends, but as his failure would infallibly lead to a reign of terror, the friends of order do well to support him as the lesser evil. The Empire is pretty sure to come now for a certain period, and then the old régime as

in the beginning of the century. It is very satisfactory that the Reds can do nothing in Paris."

December 18th.—From Paris I hear that de Morny is to be Foreign Minister, de Flahault Ambassador in London, Walewski to be moved to Vienna, and de la Valette to be recalled from Constantinople, where he is said to have committed *beaucoup de bêtises* over the subject of the Holy Places. People are beginning to appreciate that as the choice lay between firmness with momentary martial law and anarchy with the "Rouges" as their masters, the former was infinitely preferable. As a matter of fact, according to the Constitution, Louis Napoleon could only be re-elected President if the Constitution were altered to that effect by the vote of two-thirds of the Assemblée. This he knew he could never get; therefore in self-preservation he had to strike for himself. He is the only man in France who works for France; all the others spend their time in talking and quarrelling.

An unwonted peace prevails in the houses of "Society" in Paris, for now there are no debates to read and quarrel about as formerly when every evening was expected to end in a duel.

December 21st.—A terrible scandal in high life is talked about. A young lady, grand-daughter of an Earl, and well known in society, has gone astray and become a mother. As I know her and her family very well, I trust it is not true. They say that when she was asked who was the father of her illegitimate child she replied, "How should I know?"!

December 22nd.—The feeling in Germany against us for harbouring Kossuth and other refugees is very strong, and much more so in Russia.

Lord Palmerston was not at the Council to-day, and it is believed he has resigned. Lord John Russell went down to Windsor immediately afterwards, which looks like a split in the Cabinet. It is said the dispute is over the *Coup d'État* in Paris.

Lord Normanby is very angry at no specific instructions having been sent to him as to how to treat the new phase of affairs, and at Lord Palmerston having made use of language to him and M. Walewski indicating approval of Louis Napoleon's action, which is at variance with the feeling of the Court and of Lord Normanby. Louis Napoleon is expected to get eight million votes.

This afternoon as I left the Foreign Office I met Lord Granville¹ coming in, and I said to myself, "Coming events cast their shadows before them."

December 23rd.—It appears now that Lord John demanded Palmerston's resignation on the ground that he had given expression to his views on the *Coup d'État* without previously consulting the Premier. The Queen has approved Pam's dismissal with thankfulness and delight. He has been offered Ireland, but has declined it, and will probably go into opposition. A dangerous man to have against the Cabinet! Lord Granville succeeds him.

Lord Palmerston's approval of Liberal principles,

¹ 2nd Earl.

and his high-handed way of dealing with the Queen and foreign Powers, have several times nearly landed us in war, and have made him detested by the Court and his more timorous colleagues, but he is popular in the country, and he, at any rate, has made other countries afraid of what we might do.

December 26th.—The French are delighted at Granville's appointment.

December 27th.—There is a story going about that Lord Palmerston, in his annoyance, sent his seals to the Queen instead of going himself to give them up. The real facts are these: Lord John Russell wrote to Lord Stanley of Alderley¹ desiring him to tell Lord Palmerston that the seals would be sent down to Windsor, and so he, Lord P., need not come up to London, by which he meant that Lord P. could come from Broadlands, where he was staying, viâ Basingstoke to Windsor, where he would find the seals. But Lord P. did not so understand it, the Queen waited one and a half hours for him, and Lord John then gave her the seals, which she gave to Lord Granville, but was very angry until the mistake was explained.

December 28th.—The Marquis d'Harcourt was told by the Duchess of Orleans that M. de Morny had been sent over to see her last month by Louis Napoleon to give her this message, that if the Duchess would get her party to vote for Presidents being elected for four years he would at the end of that time give up, for the Comte de Paris would then be of age.

¹ 2nd Baron.

December 31st.—The result of the French Presidential election is :—

For Louis Napoleon, 7,430,219; against him, 640,787.

1852

January 6th.—The Queen in private conversation is very hostile to Louis Napoleon, and has expressed similar feelings in writing to the Queen of the French.

In November last Mons. Roger de Nord, one of the heads of the Orleanist party, wrote to the Duchess of Orleans telling her to be ready to come to France at a moment's notice. This letter he gave to a servant to post, but instead the man sold it to the French Government, and Louis Napoleon getting hold of it made up his mind to execute the *Coup d'État* of December 2nd.

January 15th.—Lord Normandy is to leave Paris, as he and Louis Napoleon do not get on well. Scandal is busy, but the true reason is that Lord Normanby has been intriguing with Changarnier and has been found out.

January 16th.—There is bad news from the Cape of Good Hope about the Kaffir War, which has been going on for more than a year, and is the result of previous folly on our part. By the Kaffir War of 1835 a tract of land up to the Kei River was annexed to Cape Colony on May 22, 1836, and King William's Town was thereupon designated capital of the new Queen Adelaide Province, of which Colonel Harry Smith was

made Commandant. But the annexation was annulled in September by that poor creature, Lord Glenelg, instigated by the missionaries, the land was given back to the Kaffirs, many of the white settlers were ruined, and numbers of them joined the Great Boer Trek to the north.

Early in 1850 Sir Harry Smith,¹ being Governor of the Cape, in response to the pressing demands of Lord Grey for a reduction of the garrison, allowed the Rifle Brigade to go home. In October Sandilli, Chief of the Gaikas, annoyed at the restrictions placed on his autocracy, and incited by the poverty caused by the drought, rebelled. At Christmas many of the military settlers bordering on the Kaffirs' country were murdered, and reinforcements were asked for from England, as Sir Harry had only 1,700 men, half of whom were locked up in a dozen widely separated posts. Early in May, 1851, the 74th arrived, but the Eastern Hottentots revolted and joined the Gaikas. A harassing guerilla warfare then began, and Sir Harry was much hampered by the desertion of nearly all the Cape Mounted Rifles (natives) and by the refusal of the colonists to fight for us, after the experiences of 1836. In August he got the 2nd Foot and part of the 12th Foot from Mauritius, also the 12th Lancers and 60th Rifles, but in October he asked for two more regiments. In November Colonel Fordyce and four other officers were ambushed and killed by a party of twenty Kaffirs

¹ 1st Baronet.

January 21st.—The following story was told me by a person whose veracity is quite unimpeachable: At a dinner given a few years ago by Count de St. Aulaire when he was French Ambassador in London, Lord Brougham asked him down the table whether he had any news of "Lady Guizotte," meaning Princess Lieven, who was supposed to be M. Guizot's mistress.

Lady Granville to-night in Bruton Street gave her first party as wife of the Foreign Minister. Count Walewski, the French Ambassador, was sitting in one of the drawing-rooms when suddenly M. Thiers appeared, upon which the Count got up and walked out of the room with his Attaché. This marked snub gave rise to much talk in circles diplomatic.

January 22nd.—I hear from Nice that Mandeville (eldest son of the 6th Duke of Manchester) is much in love there with a young and beautiful Hanoverian, Countess Louise d'Alten, and means to marry her.

In Paris Louis Napoleon is doing things on a grand scale. The Ministers' uniforms cost 800 francs each, and the Senators are to be resplendent. The latter get no pay, but those who have not enough for their positions will have £1,200 a year. The Garde Nationale à Cheval is ordered to wear so splendid a dress that very few will be able to afford it, which will keep anti-Bonapartists out of it. Already there are 6,000 applications to become Senators, and as many for the Conseil d'Etat. To the former all the Marshals, several

Lieutenant-Generals and Cardinals will belong. De Morny had made out a list of eighty of the most illustrious of the nobility and former functionaries for the Senate. Persigny is said to have put his pen through most of them and substituted very inferior ones, which so disgusted de Morny that he said, "I withdraw, and Persigny can take the responsibility on his own shoulders." This is a rock on which the Ministry may split, and another is the proposed sequestration of the Orleans properties. Teste is said to have been instructed to draw up a memorandum to the effect that no King of France had a right to make over all his personal property to his children, which Louis Philippe did, but the other party say he did so as Duke of Orleans the day before he was chosen King. The motive alleged is the feeling that the Orleanist Princes have latterly distributed huge sums of money amongst the troops and that they are about to mortgage their French properties, raising large sums upon them in England. What is certain is that de Morny and A. Fould have resolved to resign should it be carried into effect.

A short time ago the French Government informed Antonini, the Florentine Minister, that they heard the Duc d'Aumale had left Naples for Switzerland, and they begged he would inform his Government that should the Duc set foot in France his property would immediately be confiscated. Antonini wired to Naples, and was told the Duc had intended going to the Rhenish

Provinces but had changed his mind at Genoa and was returning to Naples.

The ball at the Tuileries on the 24th is to be a big affair; 5,000 invitations have been issued, of which 1,200 to foreigners. The invitation is no longer "Le Président de la République prie," but "Le Prince Louis Napoleon, Président de la République prie."

January 23rd.—There is this to be said for Louis Napoleon who has published decrees confiscating the Orleans property, that the Orleanists have lately been using their money to intrigue against him, and in 1816 Louis XVIII forced the Bonapartes to sell their property at six months' notice, and in 1832 Louis Philippe confiscated the Bourbon properties. The Orleans properties are valued at three hundred million francs, and Louis Napoleon proposes to confiscate two-thirds of that amount.

Her Majesty has written to the Queen of the French expressing her sympathy with her at this fresh blow.

January 24th.—Louis Napoleon, though officially indisposed in Paris, is believed to have been in London this week visiting Mrs. Howard, whom he sent over here last November to be out of the way of danger.

Mr. Blood, the clergyman who was saved from the burning of the steamer *Amazon* has written a ridiculous letter to the newspaper relating how he was saved by listening to a mysterious voice warning him not to undress. An irreverent

friend of mine says, "Pity the voice did not also say to him, 'Blood, do not be a — humbug!'"

January 26th.—De Morny, Fould, and others have resigned on account of the decrees, but this is officially denied.

The Tuileries ball was very well attended, especially by the Russian Grandees, who are mostly in Paris this winter instead of St. Petersburg as usual. The Prince President slept at the Tuileries and went back to the Elysée next morning, and it is believed he will reside there, and only use the Tuileries for big parties.

January 30th.—The Reform Bill is to be brought forward in the Commons on February 6th.

February 3rd.—Parliament was opened to-day by the Queen.

I hear Lord Derby offered the Foreign Office to Sir Stratford Canning (Ambassador at Constantinople) if he were called upon to form a Ministry.

February 4th.—In the Commons yesterday Lord John Russell made a feeble speech explaining why he had dismissed Palmerston, and the latter made an equally feeble reply.

It appears that Lord Palmerston's letter of instruction to Lord Normanby not to make any change in his relations with the French Government after the *Coup d'État* was not intended to be shown to the French Foreign Minister, but Normanby did so, whereupon M. Turgot told him Walewski had already got Lord Palmerston's full approbation. Normanby wrote this back to

England in a despatch which Lord John and the Queen saw. Lord John wrote to Palmerston asking him why he had expressed his own opinion. Palmerston, before answering this, wrote a despatch to Normanby saying in his opinion the success of the President was desirable for France, but this was not shown to the Cabinet. Early on the 17th he answered Lord John, who wrote back saying the question was not what Palmerston's opinion was, but whether he ought to have given any at all. Palmerston replied he had given his opinion as a private individual. Lord John thereupon said he had no option but to ask the Queen to appoint a successor. Palmerston knew he had been sacrificed to please the Court, but in replying in the House of Commons to Lord John's attack, he did not give away the fact that Lord John Russell and some others of the Ministry had also used to the French Ambassador expressions approving of the *Coup d'État*.

The transaction seems a bit shady on the part of both Palmerston and Lord John. As a friend of mine says, "Arcades ambo."

It would have been better if Lord John had resigned instead of throwing overboard the best man in the Cabinet.

This evening I went to an immensely crowded ball at the Russian Embassy, given by Baron and Baroness Brunnow.

February 6th.—By command I attended a performance of "King John" at Windsor Castle. The Queen and Royal Family, seated on a raised

platform surrounded by a gorgeously dressed crowd, formed a striking sight.

February 9th.—Tuscany has objected against receiving Sir Henry Bulwer as our Minister on account of the way he acted when at Madrid in 1846.

February 10th.—Lord John's Reform Bill does not seem to have been very well received in the Commons. The proposals to give the forty-shilling taxpayer a vote and to leave out the words "on the faith of a Christian" in the Oath are simply Radical dodges, and the second is of course to get the Jews into Parliament.

Mr. Layard, our Attaché at Constantinople and excavator of Nineveh, came to the Office to-day and told us he was going to Paris with Lord Cowley as Private Secretary.

February 11th.—Universal indignation is expressed at the publication of Lord Grey's verbose despatch recalling Sir Harry Smith, which he sent on January 14th without showing it to the Queen. It would have been quite time enough to have published it when Sir Harry got home or questions were asked in Parliament. He is recalled because he has shown "a want of energy and judgment," but the Duke of Wellington the other day highly praised his operations. Lord Grey (like most Colonial Secretaries), ignorant of actual facts and circumstances, nevertheless thinks he knows far better how to fight Kaffirs amongst inaccessible mountains than the man on the spot, and is tormented by the dreadful expense of the lengthy

operations. General Cathcart¹ will possibly have a walk-over, reaping the benefit of poor old Smith's arduous preparations.

February 12th.—The Under-Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs, having been refused by ten people, has now been accepted by Layard. He takes it up on the 15th, but it is an astounding appointment.

February 16th.—There is great joy amongst all classes in Paris at Lord Normanby's recall.

February 20th.—The Local Militia Bill, which is by way of strengthening our military forces, came on yesterday. Lord Palmerston opposed it as inadequate, and moved an amendment to leave out the word "Local," as he considers it instils a wrong idea of the employability of the Militia. This was carried against the Government by 136 to 125. Lord John has resigned, and as usual there are all sorts of rumours as to who is to be his successor. At Lady Palmerston's party to-night no one seemed at all certain about things political.

February 24th.—Lord Derby² has succeeded in forming a Ministry, with Lord Malmesbury³ as Foreign Secretary.

Lord Palmerston refused to join Lord Derby as Chancellor of the Exchequer on account of his feelings against Protection.

The new crew are chiefly remarkable in the number of prentice hands, for, except three, none have been in the ship of office before.

¹ Afterwards Sir George, killed at Inkerman, 1854.

² 14th Earl.

³ 3rd Earl.

It is said the Emperor of Russia will not hear of Louis Napoleon being Emperor of France.

Louis Napoleon is making a dead set at Belgium, and has demanded the destruction of the Waterloo Lion. If he attacks Belgium, Russia has offered 130,000 men and Holland 30,000 to preserve Belgian integrity. The Queen told my sister some time ago that he was very anxious to be revenged on us for Waterloo.

When he heard Sir Stratford Canning was to be Foreign Secretary, Baron Brunnow exclaimed that it was "*une mauvaise plaisanterie*," alluding to the long-standing feud between Canning and the Czar Nicholas over Turkish affairs.

Concerning Lord Malmesbury and the Foreign Office, an English politician writes: "He will be a failure. He has ever been an over-rated man, without principle, and his talents are much over-estimated. I doubt the Derby Ministry lasting more than a month or two without reconstruction."

March 4th.—In Paris yesterday there was a strong report that Thiers had persuaded the Duchess of Orleans to ask for the "fusion," and that the Princes were going to set out for Frohsdorff to make it up with the Comte de Chambord. The basis of this was sufficient to cause uneasiness at the Elysée.

The President has been suffering from acute rheumatism, and has had on several blisters.

A little while ago Mrs. Howard gave a dinner at which Lords Bateman¹ and Adolphus Fitz-

¹ 2nd Baron.

Clarence¹ were present. The invitations were large cards with "To meet the President" at the top. When all the guests were assembled the folding-doors were thrown open and "Monseigneur" was called out. The dinner and the wines were excellent, and host and hostess were most amiable, calling each other "Louis" and "Ellen."

The Cowleys² have an immense success in Paris. She³ is charming, so lovely and so anxious to please.

The Duc d'Ossune is said to be madly in love with Lady Clementina Villiers.⁴

March 8th.—Business in the Office goes very slowly, as Lord Malmesbury is not used to Office work. Despatches go in to him and come out with no answers. At the Colonial and Treasury Offices, I am told, the same trouble occurs under Sir John Packington⁵ and Disraeli.

March 11th.—Lord John Russell intends to force the Ministry to declare their policy, and not allow them to carry out their intention of dropping Protection, which was their main cry before they came in.

March 16th.—I hear Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston have made up their quarrel.

Lord Palmerston could not accept the Treasury because he could not agree to a five-shilling duty on corn, and wrote a nice letter to the Queen thanking

¹ 3rd son of King William IV.

² 2nd Baron.

³ Daughter of Lady de Ros.

⁴ Second daughter of 5th Earl of Jersey.

⁵ 1st Baronet.

her for the offer which Lord Derby had made to him, whereupon the Queen signified her forgiveness of past offences on his part.

It is said the Duke of Cambridge is to be Inspector General of Cavalry, but no one approves of it.

The changes in the French Rentes, though approved by the financial and commercial people, are not much liked by the poorer classes. When the latter heard of them the day before yesterday, at the Halles, they said, amongst other things, "Il a tapé sur les d'Orléans c'était bel et bon, mais si maintenant il va taper sur le peuple, ce sera une autre paire de manches."

April 5th.—Spencer Walpole¹ on Friday last added to the Militia Bill a clause giving men who had served two years a vote for the county. It is said this was all a joke of Lord Derby's, who, when Walpole told him that men would not re-engage if the Government did not offer a higher bounty than half a crown a man, replied, "Then give them a vote for the county!"

April 6th.—The *Propontis* has arrived from the Cape of Good Hope bringing news of the loss of the *Birkenhead* with troops on board, four hundred and eighty men being drowned. She was wrecked on a reef a few miles from Simons Bay, but all the women and children were saved. The discipline and courage of the soldiers, mostly young drafts, was wonderful. It is too shameful that commanders of ships should be so careless!

April 23rd.—There is talk of Lord Malmesbury going to the India Board, and if he does it is

¹ Home Secretary.

tantamount to his being a failure at the Foreign Office.

April 26th.—Our Government having sent a telegraphic message to Vienna on the 24th, the answer was received this morning. This is the first trial of sending messages such a long distance.

May 5th.—I went to the Queen's ball to-night, for a short time only, as it was crowded.

May 8th.—The Cape mail is in, and brings news that the *Magæra* with the Rifles on board, had arrived there safely, seventy-seven days from England!

May 13th.—Two occurrences of evil omen have taken place in Paris, and Louis Napoleon is said to be upset by them. A new flag was put up over the gates of the Elysée on the 10th, and the man adjusting it lost his balance, fell into the street and was killed. The other was that when Louis Napoleon left the ball given on the 11th by the Armée de Paris the Eagle over the door fell!

The fête at the Tuileries on the 10th was a splendid sight. But the carriage arrangements were bad, as eleven strings of carriages on the Place de la Concorde had to be formed into two to get over the bridge. As the Ambassadors' privilege of cutting into the string had been suspended for this night, Lord Cowley had his brand-new chariot damaged, at which he is furious.

May 13th.—The "Fête des Aigles" in Paris on the 11th passed off very well. The Standards, with the Imperial Eagles, were blessed and given back amidst enthusiastic cheers into the keeping of those

regiments who had borne them in the days of the Empire.

May 14th.—The Duke of Wellington gave a ball at Apsley House for Princess Mary of Cambridge. There was a great crowd at first, but later it was a very good ball, I thought.

May 19th.—To-night I went to the Queen's ball, which was less crowded than the last one.

May 21st.—Lord Stanley¹ has arrived from India and taken up his duties as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

May 22nd.—Marshal Soult's magnificent collection of pictures which he acquired in Spain during the Peninsular War has been sold in Paris and realized one and a half million francs.

May 24th.—Lady Charlotte Denison² gave a ball in Bridgewater House, which is in an unfinished state but is a regular palace. Lord Derby openly admits he has given up Protection.

May 27th.—I went to Epsom Races and saw Mr. Bowes' O'Rourke win the Derby.

May 31st.—There is trouble over the Mather business at Florence. An Englishman named Mather was, with his young brother, following the band of an Austrian regiment, and was walking between it and the head of the regiment, when he was assaulted by two officers, one of whom cut his head open with his sword. This happened on December 29th last, and Mather's father has been demanding £5,000 compensation from the Tuscan

¹ Son of 14th Earl of Derby.

² Daughter of 4th Duke of Portland.

Government through the Foreign Office. Lord Malmesbury told Scarlett,¹ the Chargé d’Affaires, to accept £500. But the latter accepted £250 as an act of charity on the part of the Grand Duke. The Foreign Office were anxious to insist on the money being given as compensation by the Tuscan Government in order to enforce upon Austria our contention that Tuscany is an independent State and has her own civil courts, even though her territory is occupied by Austrian troops. Vienna proposed to pay us if the Tuscans refused, but we declined, and threatened to withdraw our Minister from Florence, and owing to this state of tension Lord Malmesbury was telegraphed for to-day to come up from Heron Court.

June 9th.—When I entered the Foreign Office I found there was no work giving information as to the past services and present stations of diplomatists such as the Monthly and Hart’s Army Lists provide concerning Army officers. I therefore set about collecting such information, and after a time so useful did the compilation appear to many of my friends that I was advised to publish it. Last year I had asked Mr. Addington, the Under-Secretary, if the work could not be printed at the public expense, and his reply is so characteristic and official that I reproduce it here.

“F.O., 11 Nov., 1851.

“DEAR CAVENDISH,—

“After giving every consideration to your tabulated List of Civil Officers, and calling in to my

¹ Third son of 1st Baron Abinger.

aid many of the best and most practical heads in our Office, I am with much regret bound in conscience to say that, however creditable to your intellect and industry, your list would not be of sufficient practical utility to the public to justify me in recommending that it should be printed, and its periodical corrections maintained, at the public expense.

“The Chief Clerk possesses already, if I mistake not, a considerable portion of the information contained in your work, and the corrections which would be required to make it really valuable *at all moments* would be so numerous as to render a monthly list necessary, like the Army and Navy Lists.

“For these reasons I am reluctantly compelled to meet your laudable efforts with a negative.

“(Signed) H. M. ADDINGTON.”

Accordingly last month I published the first issue, calling it “The Foreign Office List for 1852,” whereupon I immediately began to get shoals of complaints of inaccuracies in it, though its utility was admitted by all the complainants.

Lord Malmesbury told me he thought it would be a very useful book, and at my request he said he would ask the Chief Clerk to afford me information to improve it. On leaving his Lordship’s room I met Lennox Conyngham, the Chief Clerk, in the passage, and told him that Lord Malmesbury wished me to get help from his office, whereupon he said, “I’ll see him d——d first!” Knowing that Lennox Conyngham, having lost his left leg through

a gun accident, often suffered horrible pain, which made him as savage as a bear, I left him to simmer down, and in a day or two, when I went to him for some information, I was given all that I wanted.

At Countess Grey's party to-night, Lord Palmerston came up to me and said my book was very useful and just what was wanted to avoid having to search the Office presses. He went on: "It must have taken you some time, but it only proves what Sir Charles Trevelyan¹ said of the Foreign Office men, that, work them as much as you will, some of them will still find time for more exertion." Lord Stanley, the Foreign Under-Secretary, also spoke approvingly of the book.

The older clerks did not like it, as they said it revealed matters which were of no consequence to any one outside the Office, but Lords Granville, Bloomfield,² Westmoreland,³ and many other people praised it.

One result of publication was that Mr. Belford Wilson took exception to something I had said about Colonel Lloyd, our Chargé d'Affaires in Bolivia, and desired to "call me out." He wrote most absurd official letters on the subject, which added greatly to the amusement of the Office, but he got no satisfaction from Lord Malmesbury, or any one else, and the affair ended in an effusion of ink and not of blood.

June 15th.—The Mather case came before the House of Commons, and the Government made

¹ 1st Baronet, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

² 2nd Baron, Ambassador at Berlin.

³ 11th Earl, Ambassador at Vienna.

a good case of it. Scarlett's aberration is charitably put down to ill-health and to excess of zeal. There is a report that Louis Napoleon has dismissed Mrs. Howard with the title of Comtesse de Beauregard, but I doubt her being got rid of so easily.

July 1st.—Parliament was prorogued and dissolved to-day.

August 1st.—The elections do not look well for the Government: 299 Conservatives, 315 Liberals, and 40 Peelites.

September 16th.—The Duke of Wellington having died at Walmer Castle on the 14th, his appointments are to be filled up thus:—

Prince Albert to have the Colonelcy of the Grenadier Guards.

Duke of Cambridge to have the Colonelcy of the Scots Fusilier Guards.

The Commander-in-Chiefship lies between Lord FitzRoy Somerset and the Duke of Cambridge. To the latter it is the height of his ambition. Lord Combermere is of no ability, and Lord Hardinge¹ is junior. But FitzRoy Somerset's life is such a good one it would keep the Duke of Cambridge out of it for a good many years.

September 21st.—I hear it is certain Lord Hardinge will be Commander-in-Chief and Lord Combermere will get the Tower. The Duke of Cambridge to get the Grenadier Guards, though some people say he will refuse it owing to there being so many Guards' Generals senior to him,

¹ 1st Viscount.

for which reason he declined the Coldstream Guards when his father died. Lord Derby to get the Garter and to be Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. Lords Malmesbury or Winchester to be Lord-Lieutenant of Hampshire.

September 26th.—Lord Derby is to be Chancellor of Oxford, Prince Albert to have the Rifle Brigade as well as the Grenadier Guards, and the Duke of Cambridge to succeed him as Colonel of the Scots Fusilier Guards.

September.—After a fortnight's yachting with Mr. Hedworth Lambton, I spent the remainder of the month paying visits in Hampshire and Wales, returning to work at the beginning of October.

October 11th.—The Duke of Wellington is said to be not unnaturally annoyed at his father's funeral being put off for so long.

Lord FitzRoy Somerset is to be made a Peer, which he does not like, and takes the title of Baron Raglan of Raglan.

October 26th.—There being general uneasiness as to the Imperial intentions of Louis Napoleon, Austria is trying to become more friendly with us.

October 28th.—I was told to-day that when Lord Palmerston received the Finsbury-Kossuth deputation last year he had not been told by his staff (as he should have been) what was in the petition, or address, and had no idea of what they wanted until it was read.

October 29th.—My sister Caroline writes from Windsor Castle that Lord Malmesbury had been

talking to her about my F.O. List, and had made most flattering remarks as to its usefulness to him in his work. This is all good for the sale of it!

November 11th.—The Austrians have declined to send any officers to the Duke's funeral, as they are still so angry at the attack on General Haynau.

I hear the Pope has decided to crown Louis Napoleon as Emperor, but he will not leave Italy unless there is peace there.

November 12th.—Miss Flora Macdonald, my sister Caroline, my father and I went to Chelsea Hospital to see the Duke lying in state. It was a fine and impressive sight, but the crush was dreadful and several people were killed.

November 14th.—I called on Lady Ely this afternoon, and there met Lord and Lady Mandeville. She is very pretty, and will be a "beauty" next season. Considering she is Hanoverian, she speaks English very well.

November 18th.—This being the day of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, my father was placed in command of the three regiments of Household Cavalry in the procession, and he took Frank Sutton of the Blues as his Brigade Major. My brother George still uses in Paris the black mare which was his charger when he was in the 1st Life Guards, and he sent her over from France two days ago for my father to ride on to-day's parade.

The Duke of Devonshire had a platform con-

structed against the Piccadilly wall of Devonshire House, and from it I had a perfect view of the mournful pageant, the head of which reached us at 9.15 a.m., and it was all past by 11 a.m.

Considering all things, it was odd that the officer who headed the procession taking the old Duke to his grave should be a Roman Catholic, Edward Howard. [Afterwards Cardinal Howard.]

The troops were well worth seeing, but the carriages were bad and the funeral car tawdry and clumsy.

London was very full, and they say two million people came up for the occasion.

November 23rd.—Some change in the Ministry is imminent. Some say Lord Palmerston will take office under Lord Derby, others that the Derby Ministry must go out. The more the present Ministry try to exculpate themselves, the more unprincipled and dishonest they prove themselves to have been and to be.

November 27th.—In the Free Trade debate yesterday, Lord Palmerston's motion in favour of "unrestricted competition" was carried by 468 against 53, the Government having accepted it as their own.

To-night at Lady Derby's party when Lord Palmerston came up to Lord Derby, the latter said to him, "If I had a band here I would make them strike up 'See the Conquering Hero comes'!"

November 28th.—A fracas occurred a few nights ago between two honourable members of the House of Commons. Mr. Butler Johnstone got

into a cab which Mr. Olivera claimed as his, and struck the former with his umbrella. Upon this Mr. Butler Johnstone jumped out of the cab, pursued Mr. Olivera and knocked him down. Next day Mr. Olivera asked the Speaker to take notice of the assault, but he declined, the affray having occurred outside of his jurisdiction.

November 30th.—The alleged bribery by Mr. Beresford, Secretary at War, in his Derby election, was brought up in the House of Commons yesterday by Sir Alexander Cockburn, who made out a very strong case against him. The Speaker told Beresford he must reply or leave the House, and he chose the latter.

I am told Palmerston will be the next Premier.

December 1st.—Lord Malmesbury announced in the House of Lords that Prince Louis Napoleon had assumed the Imperial title as Napoleon III. Louis Napoleon arranged that on November 1st he should be asked by the Corps Legislatifs to become Emperor and to refer the offer as a *senatus consultum* to the electors of France. Having got some seven million votes in his favour, he accepts the Imperial crown and the right to settle the succession amongst the Bonapartes should he himself have no heirs. By becoming Emperor he hopes to secure a Royal bride and have a son, for he neither cares for, nor thinks much of, any of the male Bonapartes.

December 2nd.—Louis Napoleon was to-day proclaimed Emperor. The Northern Powers do not intend to recognize him as the third (though

we have done so), which makes him very angry.

We are increasing our Army in view of the uncertainty as to what his line of action is to be.

December 13th.—Louis Napoleon has made (through M. Walewski) an offer for the hand of the Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe, the Queen's cousin.

December 14th.—It looks very much as if the Ministry were going out, for Harris¹ and Bridges-Taylor, respectively Private Secretary and Précis Writer to Lord Malmesbury, have been appointed by him, the former Consul-General at Venice and the latter Consul at Elsinore.

December 17th.—The Ministry were beaten last night by 305 to 286 over their Budget, and Lord Derby went down to Osborne this afternoon to place his resignation in the hands of the Queen.

December 22nd.—Lord Aberdeen² is having much difficulty in forming his Ministry, and Lord Palmerston has refused to join him.

The Queen, I hear, did not like Lord Derby's resignation speech on the 20th.

December 27th.—Lord John Russell is to have the Foreign Office, having insisted on it, but Arthur Russell says he only "comes there for a honeymoon," and will soon be followed by Lord Clarendon.³ Lord Palmerston goes to the Home Office. It must upset the representatives of Foreign Powers to have our Minister of Foreign Affairs shifted so frequently.

¹ Brother of Lord Malmesbury.

² 4th Earl.

³ 4th Earl.

December 29th.—Prince Hohenlohe has refused Napoleon III's offer, principally on account of the difficulty of a marriage settlement, but there are other objections on the score of religion and morals. Meanwhile the Emperor is in red-hot pursuit of Mademoiselle de Montijo, whom I remember meeting in London last year.

December 30th.—Arthur Russell has been appointed his Private Secretary and myself his Précis Writer by Lord John Russell.

I dined with Lord and Lady John to-night, and the party was a somewhat curious one, consisting of the Dukes of Argyll¹ and Newcastle,² Lords Aberdeen and Granville, Lord and Lady Palmerston, W. E. Gladstone, Miss Bessie Lister (daughter of Lord John's first wife by her first husband, Lord Ribblesdale),³ and Arthur Russell. Lord Palmerston looked ill, and had on a gouty shoe. When he was announced Miss Lister laughed and said, "So we are come to this!" referring to the late quarrel.

The Russians are delighted Palmerston is no longer at the Foreign Office, as they are afraid of him.

¹ 8th Duke.

² 5th Duke.

³ 2nd Baron.

CHAPTER V

1853-1856

The love affairs and marriage of Napoleon III—A diplomat saved from drowning by a dog—The political refugees in England—The question of the Holy Places—The camp at Chobham—The war between Turkey and Russia—The accusations against Prince Albert—Diplomatic leakage in high places—The Czar expects England's support—The Crimean War—The Battle of the Alma—The Battle of Balaklava—Cannibalism in the Franklin Expedition—The Battle of Inkerman—Sleighing on the Serpentine—Napoleon III's visit to England and why he got the "Garter"—Leakage of State secrets—Resignation of Lord John Russell—Queen Victoria in Paris—The storming of the Malakoff and the Redan—The fall of Kars—The Peace Conference—The Foreign Enlistment Act trouble with the United States—The return of the Guards from the Crimea—The Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief—The clerical agitation against Sunday music in the parks.

1853

January 3rd.—I joined Lord John Russell's party this morning at the Guildhall, where Mr. Dillon proposed and Mr. Crawford seconded him as Member for the City of London, and being unopposed, he was declared duly elected. After

this Lord Ribblesdale,¹ Arthur Russell, and I adjourned to the "Ship and Turtle," where we had a turtle luncheon.

January 5th.—I went down to Hatfield House for Lady Salisbury's ball.

January 16th.—The Northern Powers are, after all, going to acknowledge the Emperor Napoleon III, who decided on 14th that he will marry Mlle de Montijo (to whose virtue he has been laying violent siege for the last two months), because, as the lady herself says, "the only way to her bedroom lies through a well-lighted church"! Amongst her admirers are mentioned the Duc d'Aumale, the Duke of Ossuna, and M. Aquado, but it is said her affections were centred upon the Duke of Alba, who married her sister.

Louis Napoleon's marriage attempts are sufficiently curious. In 1840 he was much in love with his cousin, the Princess Mathilde. At one time he was engaged to a Miss Rowles, of Camden Place, Chislehurst, but she broke it off on account of Miss Howard. In 1848 he tried for the hand of Lady Clementina Villiers, but Lady Jersey would not hear of it, and in 1849 he proposed to Miss Burdett-Coutts and her millions. Then there was the Princess Carola Wasa, granddaughter of the Grand Duchess of Baden (Stephanie de Beauharnais); the Infanta Maria Christina, daughter of Don Francisco de Paolo and sister of the Duke of Cadiz; then a daughter of the Prince de Wagram; lastly the Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe.

¹ 3rd Baron.

A stumbling-block to most of these attempts has been his mistress, Miss Howard, or Mrs. Howard as we call her in England, where it is customary to give such ladies the brevet rank. Her origin is obscure, but her real name is said to be Elizabeth Haryett, and she had been the mistress of several people before Louis Napoleon took up with her. Her guardian, or trustee, was a Mr. Strode, when Louis Napoleon first met her at Lady Blessington's in 1837-8. They must very soon have become *liés* because she financed his Boulogne attempt, as she had plenty of money. Her house in London was frequented by the Duke of Beaufort, Lords Chesterfield and Malmesbury, Count d'Orsay, and other men of fashion. For fourteen years she has been his *chère amie*, and now, much to her fury, she is not to be allowed to be the Imperial favourite, but is dismissed with the title of Comtesse de Beauregard, two millions of francs, a place called Beauregard near St. Cloud, and a large allowance.

[In 1854 she married Clarence Trelawny, an officer in the Austrian Army, but this soon ended in a divorce, and she died in 1865.]

January 22nd.—Our Army is to be increased by twenty thousand men in view of Eastern complications between France, Russia, and Turkey.

January 23rd.—The Emperor yesterday, in a speech which much resembles the fable of the fox and the grapes, announced his marriage would take place on the 30th in Notre Dame.

My Paris correspondent writes : " The only thing to be said of the marriage is that it is most extra-

ordinary. Mlle Montijo was expressing alarm at the ceremony on 30th, and was asked if she was afraid of bullets. She replied, 'No, but of being hissed,' which, I fear, is not unlikely to be the case. The *ouvriers* are much enraged at this event, saying, 'If it had only been a Frenchwoman!' The Legitimists are rejoiced, for they expect Louis Napoleon's fall and the arrival of Henri V. It reminds one of the adventures of Strasburg and Boulogne. It is said the Grand-Duchess of Baden, Louis Napoleon's aunt, arrives here to-night with the view of stopping the marriage if possible. The Princess Mathilde begged him on her knees that he would not take this step, but in vain. He will follow his passion."

January 30th.—The Emperor Napoleon III was married to-day to Eugénie de Montijo, Comtesse de Théba.

February 3rd.—I have been given a good many French jests about the marriage, but they are so particularly Parisian and scurrilous that I can only reproduce this one, which is entitled "Les Trois Coups"—

"Il a commencé par un Coup d'Etat
Il vient de faire un Coup de tête
Et il finira par un Coup de derrière."

[In the light of after-events, the wag who composed this delectable triplet was a true prophet.]

February 4th.—Being in Paris for a visit, I went to a ball given by Mme Drouyn de Lhuys at the Foreign Office, which was very full and not particularly select.

February 5th.—I went to a ball at the Marquis d'Osmonde's, where I met all the best Legitimist families, and the ladies were very smart indeed.

February 7th.—The Senate gave a ball at the Luxembourg Palace to the Emperor and Empress, which was a very crowded though magnificent entertainment. The Empress was plainly though beautifully dressed, and looked very pretty but very frightened, though His Majesty appeared quite unconcerned.

February 8th.—Sir Henry Bulwer, coming from Italy to Paris, has met with a curious accident. His steamer on the Rhine blew up, four men were killed, and he was thrown into the river, but was rescued by a dog! He is a very small man, however!

February 12th.—There is much trouble over Sir Charles Wood's¹ election speech at Halifax, in which he abused Louis Napoleon and all his works. Count Walewski announces that such a speech coming from a Cabinet Minister will necessitate his turning his back upon Sir Charles whenever he meets him.

February 15th.—Sir James Graham² says that Lord Stanley's method of speaking is like that of Demosthenes when he had the pebbles in his mouth.

February 22nd.—Lord Clarendon³ took over the seals of the Foreign Office from Lord John Russell,

¹ 3rd Baronet.

² 2nd Baronet.

³ 4th Earl.

but keeps me on as his Précis Writer and takes Spencer Ponsonby¹ as his Private Secretary.

March 14th.—An attempt on the life of the Austrian Emperor was made on February 18th by a man named Libeny, a political refugee from England, who stabbed him in the head with a knife, and the populace are so angry that the police have to protect the house of our Ambassador, Lord Westmoreland. The most absurd reports are going about, such as that the would-be assassin was in the pay of Lord Palmerston!

There has been an outbreak at Milan, which the Austrians dealt with by drastic vigour and much cruelty. Count Colloredo had an interview with Lord Clarendon on 25th to complain of our protection of Kossuth and Mazzini, to whom Count Buol attributes the trouble at Milan and the attempt on the Emperor. I am told that Buol's language was very violent indeed.

There is no doubt that the headquarters of most of the foreign revolutionary societies are in London, and from there they send out their emissaries to cause trouble and attempts on the lives of monarchs. Louis Napoleon himself belongs to an Italian patriotic society, which I imagine helps to make him so pro-Italian. But as according to our laws any scoundrel can come here and be safe as long as he obeys our laws (and there is very little chance of any alteration), we must put up with the abuse which is very rightly hurled at us by foreign Powers for protecting their political offenders. When John

¹ Sixth son of 4th Earl of Bessborough.

Bull is a fool, as he frequently is, he is generally a very obstinate fool!

March 22nd.—The news from Turkey is very disquieting, and the Holy Places dispute is becoming very serious.

The ostensible origin of the trouble goes back to the time when Francis I of France, in order to get an ally to act as a counterpoise to Charles V of Germany, made a disgraceful alliance with Turkey, and France undertook to look after the Holy Places in the hands of the Latin Church in Palestine, but this having more or less fallen into abeyance, the protection of nineteen out of the thirty-two shrines was assigned to France by the treaty of 1740 between the Christian Powers and Turkey. In May, 1850, France demanded the restitution of as many of these sanctuaries as had fallen into the hands of the Greek Church, the head of which is the Czar. Since then matters have been complicated by disputes between Greek and Latin monks. Russia's claim is founded upon firmans given by the Sultan to the Greek Church subsequent to 1740. In December last the dispute had become so acrimonious that Louis Napoleon realized that he dare not ask for a Russian Princess in marriage, and Turkey was at her wits' end how to placate both applicants. Last January the Czar massed troops near the Danubian Principalities pending reparation for alleged insulting procedure by French diplomatists.

But the real origin is the desire of the Czar for the partition of Turkey, which has been the ambi-

tion of Russia for two hundred years. It is suspected that he had good reason to think that England would support him in his claims over the Holy Places, and to get that support he suddenly came to England in 1844. If that be so, he has not reckoned upon the instability of our politics, and he has had cold water thrown upon his schemes by Lord Aberdeen.

Prince Menschikoff arrived in Constantinople on the 2nd March to press the question violently, which frightened the Turks into making an appeal to Colonel Rose, our Chargé d'Affaires, who sent to Malta for the fleet to come to the Dardanelles. Admiral Dundas has declined to move without orders from home, and Rose's action is not approved by Lord Clarendon. Meanwhile the French have ordered their fleet to go to Salamis Bay.

Menschikoff's instructions are to settle the question of the Holy Places and arrange by a Convention that the Czar should protect all Christian subjects of the Porte, of whom there are ten millions in Turkey.

April 14th.—At Lady Granville's ball to-night I learned that the police had to-day seized in Kossuth's house in London some arms packed ready to be sent to Rostock *en route* for Hungary.

It is curious that we should so soon have an opportunity of showing that we would carry out the line of conduct we had laid down for ourselves, namely, to protect, but not to abet, political refugees, and that Lord Palmerston should at this juncture be Home Secretary.

April 21st.—Count and Countess Colloredo gave a ball to-night at the Austrian Embassy, Chandos House, and there I met Lord Hardinge, the Commander-in-Chief.

May 4th.—The Duchess of Norfolk gave a ball, which was very hot and crowded.

May 6th.—There has been trouble in the Admiralty owing to a squabble between Augustus Stafford, Secretary to the Board, Sir Baldwin Walker,¹ and Admiral Parker as to the dockyard administration and patronage, and there has been an inquiry both in the Commons and now by a Committee on the Navy. The latter looks bad for Stafford, and he will have to resign.

May 11th.—The Foreign Office was turned upside down to-day preparing for the ball which Lady Clarendon gave to-night for her niece, Miss Bessie Lister.

May 24th.—After the official Queen's Birthday dinner at the Foreign Office I went to Lady Breadalbane's² ball.

May 25th.—I saw West Australian win the Derby to-day, and in the evening I went to Mrs. Charles Mills' party to hear Mario and Bosio sing.

May 30th.—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was sent back to Constantinople last March and got Menschikoff to agree to a compromise on his first point, but on the second he urged the Turks to stand firm. Failing to shake them, Menschikoff left on the 21st. Lord Aberdeen still believes there will be no war.

¹ Admiral. 1st Baronet.

² Wife of 2nd Marquess.

June 4th.—My father has been given the colonelcy of the 2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays).

June 11th.—Bets were being freely made at Lady Palmerston's party to-night as to whether our troops will march to the proposed camp at Chobham or embark for the Mediterranean.

June 15th.—Count Nesselrode on May 31st told Turkey that the Russian forces will occupy the Danubian Principalities as a material guarantee, but no offensive against Turkey will be taken as yet.

There is to be a Conference of the Four Powers at Vienna next month.

July 2nd.—The Allied Fleets have been sent to Besika Bay.

July 9th.—The Russians crossed the Pruth on the 2nd and occupied the Principalities, and the Conference assembled at Vienna on the same date.

July 16th.—I went down to the camp at Chobham, and spent the day with Lord FitzGibbon and the 8th Hussars.

July 27th.—By riding down to Virginia Water I saw the whole Chobham force cross the Thames by a pontoon bridge constructed at Runnymede. One of the guns, through bad driving, fell over into the water, and the men and horses were nearly drowned.

August 10th.—The Vienna Conference on July 31st sent a Note to Russia and Turkey to the effect that the latter will remain faithful to the treaties of Kaimardje and Adrianople "relative to the protec-

tion of the Christian religion." This England and Russia have accepted.

With a large party of the Corps Diplomatique, I went to Portsmouth, and from the deck of H.M.S. *Vivid* witnessed the Naval Review, a most impressive spectacle.

August 14th.—I spent the day at Chobham with Colonel Craufurd at the Guards' Camp, and attended Divine Service there.

August 27th.—I went over to Baden-Baden and stayed there for five weeks with the Delmars, making many beautiful excursions and meeting many nice people, amongst whom were the Prince and Princess of Prussia, the Grand-Duchess Stephanie of Baden, the Prince of Hesse, the Princess of Hohenzollern, the Augustus Loftus's,¹ the George Barringtons,² Prince Puchler-Muskau, the great traveller, &c., &c., and in the evenings the Cruvellis sang, while Négri accompanied on the piano. From Baden-Baden we moved to Paris, where I stayed till November 24th.

September 1st.—Turkey, at the instance of Stratford de Redcliffe, has altered the Vienna Note so as to read "relative to the protection by the Sublime Porte of the Christian religion." She also makes evacuation the first condition of accepting the Note, and demands a guarantee against any future invasion. Russia has rejected the altered Note and the demands.

September 11th.—Stratford de Redcliffe has

¹ Son of 2nd Marquess of Ely.

² Afterwards 7th Viscount Barrington.

authority to employ the British fleet as may be necessary, and if the Russian ships leave Sebastopol he is to bring it up to the Bosphorus.

October 15th.—The Turks declared war on the 8th, and gave the Russians fifteen days in which to evacuate the Principalities.

October 19th.—M. Kisseleff, the Russian Ambassador, has, I am told, been hard at work all to-day contradicting a report, spread here in Paris, that the Czar means to exterminate Turkey, but, notwithstanding the ambassadorial denials, it is believed to be true.

I hear England has decided to support Turkey.

Captain McClure, having gone four years ago by Behring's Straits to look for Sir John Franklin's expedition, has succeeded in discovering the North-West passage.

October 25th.—Owing to the riots in Constantinople, and fears of a Christian massacre, the fleets have gone there. This is a breach of the Treaty of 1841, but then what can one call the actions of Russia?

Louis Napoleon, desirous of paying a compliment to the King, sent a military mission to grace a Royal review at Naples; but the King having refused to admit the officers into Neapolitan territory, the French Minister has been recalled, owing to this insult.

October 30th.—General Barraguay d'Hilliers goes as French Ambassador to Constantinople, replacing M. de la Cour, who is said to be recalled for vacillating conduct. He sent home most alarmist

reports about the state of Constantinople, which are believed to have been exaggerated, but they have any way served their purpose, by getting the French fleet up the Dardanelles.

November 3rd.—Mr. Soulé, the new American Minister at Madrid, seems to be a pushing person. Reading his despatches gives one the impression that amongst the Powers the only powerful ones are America and Russia. They tell me at the Embassy that, when he passed through Paris on his way to Madrid, he told M. Drouyn de Lhuys that Russia had asked the United States to arbitrate on the Eastern Question! It is extraordinary how the American Eagle loves screaming!

Lord Cowley tells me that in these days spies are of no use. When he came to Paris he found two men drawing English pay as such, and as he never got any news from them he stopped their pay, and told them that in future it would be "No news, no pay," and the scale of remuneration would be strictly in accordance with the quality of the news supplied.

November 5th.—The Turks, under Omar Pasha, crossed the Danube on October 27th and had a fight, losing 2,000 men.

On the 31st the Czar issued a manifesto, saying he would not take the offensive against Turkey. He thus put the Danube as his boundary, and lost the advantage of first move. People say he must be quite mad.

November 8th.—Lord Cowley tells me Russia will not like Barraguay d'Hilliers' appointment

because he is a soldier. Omar Pasha has beaten the Russians at Guirgevo.

The Duc de Gagliera told me that Drouyn de Lhuys and Kisseleff do not now speak to one another, and the position of the latter is very unpleasant.

November 17th.—The Russians have driven the Turks back across the Danube.

November 19th.—Having procured an order, we went, a large party, to inspect the State-rooms in the Tuileries, which are beautifully decorated.

November 22nd.—Princess Sarah Esterhazy died on November 17th.

December 8th.—A French Note, to which we agree, went to Russia on November 25th.

December 13th.—The Turks have had a disaster at Sinope, in the Black Sea. It appears that a Turkish squadron of seven frigates, conveying reinforcements of men and equipment to the troops in Asia, was sheltering in Sinope from a superior Russian force which was capturing Turkish vessels in the Black Sea, and the Turkish Admiral had warned his Government of the danger he was in. The Turks lost 4,000 men, it is said, and this attack was looked upon as barbarous treachery after the Czar's manifesto.

December 15th.—Lord Palmerston has resigned the Home Office, ostensibly because of his dislike of the Reform Bill, but I have no doubt it is because the Cabinet will not be firm with Russia.

Lord John, Lord Panmure,¹ the Duke of New-

¹ 2nd Baron, afterwards 11th Earl of Dalhousie.

castle, Sir G. Grey, and Sir James Graham, are all talked of as his successor.

From Copenhagen I hear that the Russian Minister there will not have a dinner on the Czar's fête day, in which he is probably wise ; but he has foolishly said his reason is that he fears the toast of his master's health would, under present circumstances, be ill received by many of his guests. A night or two ago there was a dinner at the Palace, and after it the Russian Minister seized hold of M. Bluhme, and kept him in close conversation for nearly an hour. The King thereupon observed to some one to whom he was talking, "The Russian is endeavouring, I suppose, to induce Bluhme de faire des bêtises mais il ne les fera pas."

December 25th.—Palmerston is back in office. The Queen is furious. Aberdeen is disgusted, as the recent split has been a duel between him and Palmerston. Prince Albert is vehemently accused of interfering in politics and military matters, as well as forcing dynastic and foreign ideas upon the Ministry, to the detriment of our true policy.

Thank Heaven, Princess Mary of Cambridge has refused the suggestion of Napoleon III that she should marry Prince Jerome Bonaparte, his heir apparent.

December 31st.—A few mornings ago, on reaching the Office, I found on Lord Clarendon's table a large parcel, which he directed me to open. The contents proved to be four and a half yards of best black cloth, sent, according to an ancient custom, by the Aldermen of London as a gift to the Foreign

Secretary, other high functionaries also receiving similar gifts. On seeing it Lord Clarendon laughed, and said, "Ah! it will do nicely to make me a new pair of black evening trousers, which I want."

I send printed slips to diplomatists, giving their record of services, so that they may correct them for the Foreign Office List. Sir G. Hamilton Seymour, in sending back his from St. Petersburg, adds after the entry that he went there in 1851, "Has had the devil's own time of it since he got there"!

1854

January 8th.—The Allied Fleets have been ordered to enter the Black Sea and capture any Russian ships which do not retire into Sebastopol. The French have been urging this, Lord Palmerston wanted it, though Lord Aberdeen would not hear of it, but Lord Clarendon having backed up Palmerston, Lord Aberdeen gave way on December 27th.

Owing to the heavy snow last week I was able to drive about in my sledge with one of my father's grey carriage-horses in it.

January 10th.—It is hoped that Prussia will remain neutral if there is war with Russia, but at present she is supplying her with arms, &c.

Lord Bloomfield tells me he heard, from a Russian well acquainted with the Emperor Nicholas, that H.I.M. has a grudge against us for having thwarted him in past years, and he is looking anxiously for the day when he can pay it off against us.

January 11th.—There is a violent article in the

Daily News against Prince Albert, and people say he will be hissed when he goes with the Queen to open Parliament.

January 12th.—The Russians have been well beaten by the Turks at Citate, losing 2,500 men, and the Porte has agreed to the Note of November 25th. I went to tea with my sister Caroline at Windsor Castle.

January 13th.—This evening I went to the Strand Theatre, where Prince Albert's appearance in a dissolving view was hissed and hooted at.

January 22nd.—I drove Spencer Ponsonby down to Sydenham to see the Crystal Palace, which is a magnificent building. A great deal has been done to it, but there is little chance of it being finished by June 1st, as was hoped.

January 23rd.—Baron Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador, has sent to ask whether our ships in the Black Sea intend to remain neutral, or to take steps against Russian ports and ships. If the answer is not satisfactory to him he is to ask for his passports. H.M.S. *Retribution* went to Sebastopol to convey information of the mission on which the fleets are engaged, and she got into the harbour early in the morning without being discovered, which caused much fluttering in the garrison.

January 24th.—General Cannon has just come back from Turkey, and says the Turkish soldiers are excellent, but the officers are wretched. At a review he saw the General Commanding sitting in an arm-chair smoking!

January 25th.—Lord Hardinge goes about saying we have no knowledge of the Black Sea, nor of the way to get into Sebastopol in the Crimea, which Napoleon III suggests should be the scene of war.

January 27th.—My brother, Frederick Cavendish, has been appointed a Groom-in-Waiting by the Queen.

January 31st.—At the opening of Parliament to-day the Queen was tolerably well received, and there were not so many hisses and groans for Prince Albert as had been expected.

The Turkish Minister was very much cheered by the populace.

February 4th.—Baron Brunnow came at 5.30 p.m. and gave Lord Clarendon a Note stating that as the answer about the fleet was not satisfactory he must break off relations with the British Government.

People think the greater part of the allegations against Prince Albert were practically admitted in the debate in both Houses, and there was no denial of his having been referred to on subjects of importance connected with the Army.

I cannot think why the poor Queen cannot ask her husband's advice, nor why he should not help her in the burden of sovereignty. Of course he hates Palmerston and all his ways worse than the devil, and being decidedly German in all his ways and thoughts, he is offensive to English people, even to some who ought to know better.

February 8th.—In Paris it is believed the Czar is against war owing to Prussia and Austria re-

maining firm, and Kisseleff is staying on for a few days. Brunnow left London to-day.

February 9th.—Three battalions of the Guards are to embark for Malta on the 19th. Lord Hardinge asked them when they would be ready, and the reply being "In a fortnight," he told them they must be ready sooner. No wives are to go.

February 10th.—The Duke of Cambridge is said to be very angry because, being of Royal blood, they say he cannot have a command.

February 11th.—A friend wrote to me from St. Petersburg on the 6th that the Quaker deputation had arrived, and as soon as they recovered from severe internal pains caused by the water of the Neva they would interview the Czar in the cause of peace. Napoleon III's peace letter had just arrived.

In all 10,000 men are to go to the East, but no cavalry, they say.

February 13th.—Napoleon III's letter to the Czar, written in the name of the Queen and himself, without previous reference to England, offered him the choice of withdrawing his troops, and reopening negotiations, or war. The Czar says war has been forced upon him by England and France, and refuses the ultimatum. Napoleon's evident object was to *brusquer les choses* and stop our shilly-shallying.

February 20th.—This morning Prince Albert, accompanied by the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Hardinge, inspected the Grenadier and Scots Fusilier Guards going out to the East.

February 22nd.—Last night I went to a ball at Hanover Square Rooms in aid of the poor French

in London and stayed there until it was time to go to St. George's Barracks to see the 3rd Grenadiers march out at 5 a.m. for Waterloo station *en route* for Turkey. The sight was imposing but melancholy, for probably many of them will not return.

February 23rd.—Lord Clarendon told me to-day he had had a conversation with Lord John Russell, and he expected the Government would break up over the Reform Bill.

Lord de Ros¹ and Sir Baldwin Walker are to go to Paris to consult with the French as to the campaign.

February 28th.—Captain Blackwood was sent off last night to St. Petersburg viâ Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, with a Note to Count Nesselrode, stating that if the Danubian Principalities are not evacuated by Russia by April 30th it will be considered as a declaration of war, and he is to wait at St Petersburg six days for an answer.

Austria says she will support France and ourselves in the event of our declaring war.

The Times of to-day has an account of the contents of this Note, and as it was supposed to be a great secret, Lord Clarendon is much annoyed, and Lord Aberdeen says some one in the Foreign Office has given the secret away.

March 1st.—Lord Aberdeen to-day told Lord Clarendon that the Foreign Office was responsible for the leakage, so Lord Clarendon brought the matter before the Cabinet to-day.

¹ 20th Baron.

March 2nd.—More troops are under orders for the East. I am told that last night the Duke of Cambridge said he would like to know where they were going to!

March 3rd.—Napoleon III, in opening the Assemblée yesterday, announced that the French fleet was going to the Baltic in concert with England.

March 4th.—The Reform Bill discussion is postponed to April 27th.

March 6th.—The Budget was introduced, and the Income Tax is doubled.

Sir Hamilton Seymour has arrived from St. Petersburg, and says he was worried almost to death there. The Czar is almost mad, and has behaved very badly to him; so much so that on the day before he received his passports, when the Bavarian Minister asked him if he were not going to see the Emperor before he left, Sir Hamilton replied, "Certainly not; the Emperor has behaved to me in such a manner that as an English gentleman I could not do so." Sir Hamilton also told me that people in St. Petersburg would not give him good prices for what he was selling because they said they knew we English would come there and either take the things or burn them!

March 7th.—A dinner was given at the Reform Club to Sir Charles Napier upon his appointment to command the Baltic fleet. Sir Charles in his speech said he would declare war when he got there, and Sir James Graham said he would authorize him to do so! Methinks the Reform Club claret must have been rather strong!

March 8th.—There was a large party at the Austrian Embassy, to which I went.

March 11th.—Our fleet sailed for the Baltic.

March 12th.—At White's Club this evening I read what Lord Malmesbury had said in the Lords about the lost secret. Lord Aberdeen had said the culprit was a young clerk who had been appointed by Lord Malmesbury but who had left the Office. Lord Malmesbury flared up and challenged Aberdeen for the name, and said junior clerks in the Foreign Office did not see confidential papers. In the Club I heard Lord Malmesbury repeat this, but not knowing who was suspected I did not like to say anything. To-day I find it is Astley who was appointed a clerk by Lord Malmesbury in December, 1852, and left on his marriage in May, 1853. He is supposed to have let out the secret at Lady Ashburton's.

March 14th.—The "lost secret" was again before the Lords, and Aberdeen said he would leave it to Astley to deny.

This evening Malmesbury was in White's talking to the Duke of Cambridge, and he again made the remark about junior clerks. I apologized for interrupting him, and told him he was not correctly informed, because Foreign Office clerks were supposed to be gentlemen, and capable of being entrusted with any paper. I proved this by telling him how I had suddenly been sent for to copy a most important despatch in 1848 on Italian affairs, and that the first paper I copied after entering the Office in 1846 was Colonel Lloyd's instructions on

going to Portugal. Lord Malmesbury seemed convinced at last, and said he would move no more in the matter and was sorry he had had to do with Astley. The Duke of Cambridge put in a remark now and then, saying he could not understand the principle, but I assured him I was correct. Evidently Malmesbury's mistake arose because when he put his cousin Dashwood into the Office he was told he had gone to the Consular Department, where papers are not confidential.

March 17th.—I hear Malmesbury is angry at my having interrupted his conversation with the Duke of Cambridge, but every one approves of my putting him right. In the Lords, Malmesbury read out Astley's denial, which Lord Aberdeen accepted with an apology. The Office suspicion rests upon a Cabinet Minister or Under-Secretary.

[I see in Greville's and Lord Malmesbury's "Memoirs" that Lord Aberdeen was the culprit, hence the aptness of Lord Malmesbury's quotation from Sancho Panza "that a cask leaks as often from the top as from the bottom."—1889.]

March 20th.—The correspondence about Russia in this morning's papers clearly shows that the Czar felt certain of the support of Lord Aberdeen, and a year ago he offered us Egypt and Crete as bribes to make us acquiesce in his aggression against Turkey.

[We know now (1889) what we had long suspected, namely, that a secret compact was made in 1844 between the Czar Nicholas, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Aberdeen,

then Foreign Secretary. The memorandum of this agreement that England would support Russia in her legitimate protectorship of the Greek religion and of the Holy Shrines, and to do so without consulting France, was written out by Count Nesselrode from the Czar's dictation, and sent to England, where it was signed by the other three conspirators. Nesselrode added that Austria fully concurred, and would support Russia.]

March 23rd.—Captain Blackwood has arrived at Berlin, having received no reply from Count Nesselrode. This means war!

I hear that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe has been doing all he can to provoke war. When he saw the British fleet come up the Bosphorous he said, "At last! that means war." In hopes of drawing out the Russian fleet he sent three Turkish steamers to the Crimea, and also English and French ships to bring away the Consuls from Varna, and to look after the grain-ships at the Sulina mouth of the Danube.

March 26th.—My uncle Charles has sold Burlington House to the Government for £140,000.

March 27th.—I went to the House of Lords to hear read the Queen's message announcing war with Russia.

March 28th.—Lady Clarendon gave a party at the Foreign Office to-night.

April 4th.—The Greeks have declared war against Turkey.

April 8th.—It is said the Austrians are going to occupy Servia, having the mandate of the Four

Powers (England, France, Austria, and Prussia) to compel the evacuation of the Principalities.

April 10th.—I was at Dover pierhead to-night and saw the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Raglan, and Staff embark for the East.

April 11th.—Mr. Addington has resigned the Permanent Under-Secretaryship of the Foreign Office, and Hammond succeeds him.

Colonel Rose, Secretary of Embassy, Constantinople, goes out as Military Commissioner with the French Army, but remains in the Diplomatic Service, and will get a mission when the war is over. Lord Napier¹ succeeds him in Turkey.

The Czar has proclaimed his declaration of war.

April 12th.—The war treaty with France was signed in London on the 10th, and Sardinia is coming in with France I hear.

The Russians have crossed the Danube and taken possession of the Dobrudscha, though what use a large piece of swamp like that can be to them is difficult to imagine.

Yesterday Lord John Russell announced the postponement of the Reform Bill until next year, and showed much emotion in his speech, but why no one can understand!

April 26th.—This Sunday was the Day of Humiliation. What we have done to feel humiliated I do not know!

April 27th.—At the Opera I saw Mme Cruvelli's debut as Desdemona in "Othello."

April 28th.—A noble lord, who was married a

¹ 9th Baron.

year ago, has bolted with his former mistress, a beautiful girl by whom he has two boys.

May 1st.—News of the bombardment of Odessa by the fleets on the 22nd has arrived, and we have only eight killed and eighteen wounded.

May 5th.—Lord Cardigan has not yet left for the seat of war.

May 12th.—The Walewskis gave a fancy-dress ball at the French Embassy, at which were the Queen and Prince Albert, and to which I went.

May 13th.—With a large Foreign Office party I drove down in my father's barouche with four horses to Woolwich to see the launch of the new big battleship *Royal Albert* by the Queen.

May 20th.—The Queen's birthday was kept to-day, and I attended Lord Clarendon's official dinner. The American Minister sent the excuse that he was previously engaged!

June 3rd.—Our Army is moving up to Varna; the Greek insurrection is to be stopped, and the King forced to remain neutral.

Alterations in the Ministry are to be made, and Lord Panmure, Lord Palmerston, and the Duke of Newcastle are talked of as Minister at War. Lord Palmerston undoubtedly would be the best man for the post, and he would like it.

June 7th.—The Queen and Prince Albert were at Lady Breadalbane's ball to-night.

June 10th.—The Duke of Newcastle is to be Minister *of* War, not *at* War.

The Queen opened the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

June 21st.—There was desperate fighting at Silistria on the 14th, and the Russians, who have been besieging the place since May 15th, have lost heavily.

June 23rd.—Russia is trying to float a loan in Europe, and Lord Clarendon says that for any Englishman to deal with it would be high treason.

June 26th.—The siege of Silistria has been abandoned by the Russians, who have lost 12,000 men.

We are, it is said, pressing for the destruction of the Russian fleet and the occupation of Sebastopol.

To-night I went to the ball given by the Lord and Lady Mayoress.

June 29th.—A Cabinet Council was held last evening at Lord John Russell's house at Richmond, and instructions were made out to Lord Raglan to attack Sebastopol. Their discussion was so prolonged that, it being after dinner, several Ministers fell asleep I am told.

As no troops are left in England, it is proposed to send the fleet to the Aland Islands, in the Baltic, with a French force.

July 11th.—Our fleet is close to Cronstadt, and it is said the Czar and Czarina while in the town heard "God save the Queen" being played on board our ships. The Turks crossed the Danube at Guirgevo, although opposed by the Russian Army.

July 28th.—The Generals at Varna, persuaded by Lord Raglan, have decided to go to Sebastopol.

On June 14th Austria signed a Convention with Turkey to uphold the integrity of the latter by

every means, and prepared an army of occupation which has moved upon Moldavia, hence the Russians are forced to retreat from the Principalities.

August 12th.—Parliament was prorogued to-day by the Queen. From Lord Clarendon's room in the Office facing the Park I was looking at the procession returning to Buckingham Palace, when his Lordship came in saying he had been down in the crowd, and had not had such a holiday for six months.

The Russians have evacuated Bucharest, and their troops are moving round to the Crimea.

August 23rd.—Bomarsund, in the Baltic, was bombarded and captured by the fleet on the 16th, 2,000 prisoners being taken, who are to be brought to England to be interned.

The cholera epidemic amongst the French Army at Varna and Kustendje is dreadful, and they have lost 7,000 men.

August 24th.—I left London for a three weeks visit to Lord¹ and Lady Clare at Mount Shannon, County Limerick, and was introduced to the exquisite scenery of Killarney.

September 21st.—On 14th and 15th 23,000 French, 24,000 English, and 7,500 Turkish troops landed at Eupatoria without opposition, and are marching upon Sebastopol.

September 30th.—News came to-day that the Allies attacked the Russians at the point of the bayonet on the heights of the River Alma at 1 p.m. on 20th, and the Russians were defeated by 3½ p.m.

¹ 3rd Earl.

We lost 1,400 killed and wounded, and the French about the same.

On 28th the Turkish Government heard from Varna that a French steamer leaving the Bosphorus spoke another steamer coming from the Crimea which announced that Sebastopol had fallen after an attack by sea and land. This is too good to be true I fear.

October.—I was away shooting at Kimberley, Norfolk, with the Wodehouses, and at Golden Grove with the Emlyns.

October 9th.—Marshal St. Arnaud died on September 29th in the Crimea, but he was ill when he left France. General Canrobert succeeds him in command of the French troops. Austria has proposed an alliance with us, and we have given the proposal a friendly reception, but I doubt it coming off.

October 25th.—It appears that at the Battle of the Alma the advance was wrong. The Allies advanced from their right, thereby driving the Russians from the sea back upon their line of communication, whereas had we advanced from our left we would have forced them back upon the river and the sea, away from their line.

October 31st.—There are gruesome reports from Doctor Rae of what he has ascertained of the fate of Sir John Franklin and his men from some Esquimaux. These natives found the dead bodies of the last of the expedition four years ago, and it was evident from the state of the corpses and the camp that these unfortunate wretches had had to resort to cannibalism.

November 2nd.—There are rumours there was a battle in the Crimea on October 25th. Great complaints are everywhere made about the time it takes to get news from the seat of war. It is astonishing that a line of couriers between Varna and London has not been established by us long ago, for all authentic news now comes by the Mediterranean, where it has to contend with wind and waves.

November 4th.—On October 25th the Russians attacked Balaklava, the Turks fled from their redoubts (which were too far out, and therefore untenable) and lost guns, but the 93rd Highlanders stood their ground and drove off the enemy. There were two cavalry fights, in one of which our Heavy Brigade defeated a column of Russian cavalry, but in the other the Light Brigade, although they rode through and through the Russians, was very severely handled, losing 550 men out of 700!

November 5th.—Rumour among the Greek houses in the City has it that the Duke of Cambridge has been killed and Sebastopol has fallen.

H.R.H. the Duchess of Cambridge has just had a letter from her son, dated October 18th, in which he says our Navy lost 46 killed and 206 wounded in the combined bombardment of Sebastopol on the 17th, and next day Colonel Hood of the Grenadiers was killed in the trenches.

I dined to-night with Lord¹ and Lady Wodehouse, and she is in much distress lest anything

¹ 3rd Baron, created Earl of Kimberley, 1866.

may have happened to her only brother, Viscount FitzGibbon¹ of the 8th Hussars, who are in the Light Brigade.

November 7th.—Sebastopol, by rumour, has again been stormed by the Allies, and this time with a loss to them of 15,000 men.

November 12th.—In the list of the “killed” at Balaklava, FitzGibbon’s name appears with “doubtful” against it.

General Z. writes: “The charge of the Light Cavalry appears to have been the rashest of the sort that ever was committed, a useless display of animal courage, and a total absence of circumspection far beyond what might have been expected in a Cornet of six months’ standing. I am provoked, more than I can find words to describe, at the lavish destruction of those beautiful regiments.”

November 15th.—The news of the Battle of Inkerman on the 5th has come. The loss is dreadful, but the affair is glorious to our men.

Phillips, of the 8th Hussars, writes that FitzGibbon went through the charge all right, killing four Russians with his revolver, but when the 8th retired he was shot in the left side by a cannon-ball, and when Phillips last saw him he was lying on the ground, leaning on his right arm and looking very bad. FitzGibbon is not amongst the prisoners, so we fear he must have been killed.

November 23rd.—When Lord Clarendon came out from the Cabinet Council this afternoon, his Lordship went up to the card showing the mails

¹ Only son of 3rd and last Earl of Clare.

to go out to-morrow, and reading out Brussels, Lisbon, Egypt, Syria, exclaimed, "Confound!" then, Sweden, "Murder!"

Then he asked me, "Is the lamplighter here a Guardsman, that he wears moustachioes?" I told him the reason was that the chief clerk, Lennox Conyngham, had offered the man five shillings to grow them, so as to shame the young gentlemen (clerks) in the Office, who wore moustachioes. Upon this Lord Clarendon laughed and said, "To shame the young men? It will rather encourage them, for the man is a very good-looking fellow"!

[The prejudice against wearing hair on the upper lip was a long time in dying out amongst those in civil life.]

November 28th.—There was a terrible storm in the Black Sea on the 14th. Thirty transports were wrecked and a thousand men drowned. Worst of all was the loss of the *Black Prince*, which had on board half a million's worth of stores and clothing, badly needed by our troops.

The most alarming reports keep coming in as to the spread of cholera in our Army and the lack of hospital equipment, tent and stores, but it has yet to be realized by the public what dreadful effects upon our poor soldiers will be exercised by these losses, which cannot easily or quickly be made good either from home or in the East.

December 5th.—Parliament is to meet on the 12th, and Lord Malmesbury is to make a ferocious attack upon the management of the war.

It is said, however, that if the Government will

be bold and ask for plenty of money, and reinforcements of men and material, little or no attack will really be made; but if Ministers are timid, the Opposition will take every opportunity to harry them.

December 6th.—Julian Fane¹ has arrived from Vienna with the Austrian treaty, and it really looks as if Austria herself would not mind having a go at Russia!

December 8th.—Frederick Cadogan² is going to arrange an electric telegraph between Bucharest and Varna, and there is some talk of one across the Black Sea to Balaklava!

December 23rd.—The Foreign Enlistment Bill has passed the third reading in the Commons by 38 votes. By it we can enlist 10,000 foreigners for the war.

December 29th.—General Z. says: "I am sorry to see these attacks upon Raglan for not being seen enough by the Army, for when such complaints are so repeatedly made there is generally some foundation for them. I always looked upon him as the best man for the Crimean command, but then I calculated that as a matter of course precautions would be taken or forethought exercised to afford him the advantage of having officers on his Staff on whose experience and good judgment he might rely to assist him in difficulties. However, with the exception of Sir J. Burgoyne, who has he to whom he could refer with confidence?"

¹ Fourth son of 11th Earl of Westmoreland.

² Fourth son of 3rd Earl Cadogan.

Browne¹ is a gallant fighting Irishman, but never till now commanded more than a regiment on service. Cathcart,² of whom so much was thought as an able adviser (why and wherefore I have yet to make out), by whom is he to be replaced? Surely they cannot look upon the petted Bentinck³ or Barnard⁴ or chattering Rokeby⁵ in that light?"

1855

January 23rd.—Mr. Roebuck, on the reassembly of Parliament to-day, gave notice to move for an inquiry into the conduct of the war.

Lord John Russell has resigned, as he says he could not face Mr. Roebuck's motion. There is much disgust at his desertion at such a time, and people say he ought to stick to his fellows until they are turned out.

January 24th.—I am told Lord John wanted to resign in November, but was persuaded to go on. Rumour says he hoped to be called upon to form a new Ministry,

January 29th.—Lord Clarendon is to remain at the Foreign Office, whoever becomes Premier.

January 30th.—Lord Aberdeen went down to Osborne to-day to see the Queen. The Ministry was beaten on Mr. Roebuck's motion by 157.

January 31st.—The Queen, having come up to Buckingham Palace, sent for Lord Derby, who

¹ Sir George Browne.

² Sir George Cathcart.

³ Sir Henry Bentinck.

⁴ Sir Andrew Barnard.

⁵ 6th Baron.

afterwards saw Lord Palmerston, and the latter came to the Office to see Lord Clarendon.

February 1st.—Lord Derby cannot form a Ministry, as Lords Palmerston and Clarendon will not join him.

February 2nd.—The Duke of Newcastle made a very good defence to-night in the Lords, and has raised himself in public opinion. It is said Lord Raglan has been recalled.

No doubt but there has been a deplorable lack of elasticity and superabundance of red-tape in our arrangements at home and in the Crimea, but when you are told to prepare for a summer picnic you do not generally anticipate a residence in a pesthouse and a winter in the open!

People of all shades of opinion blame Lord John very much for breaking up the Government.

February 3rd.—Lord John has given up trying to form a Ministry, and Lord Clarendon has been sent for by the Queen.

February 5th.—Lord Palmerston has formed a Ministry. What a come down for the Court party! Clarendon remains at the Foreign Office and Lord Panmure goes to the War Office.

I hear the King of Sardinia is sending 15,000 men to the Crimea, having been induced to do so by Count Cavour, whose object is to place Louis Napoleon under an obligation to Sardinia.

The terms of peace offered last month to Russia were—

1. Cessation of Russian Protectorate over Principalities.

2. Free navigation of the Danube.
3. Termination of the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea ; that is, by reducing her fleet strength.
4. Russia to abandon any claims over any subjects of the Porte.

To these Russia has agreed, which is somewhat embarrassing, as Austria has not consented to join the Allies in them.

February 13th.—Lord John Russell is to go on a special peace mission to Vienna, but as he is ill he will only start on the 19th. M. Drouyn de Lhuys is the French representative.

February 16th.—The weather having lately been very cold, with much snow, I have been driving about in my sledge, and the Serpentine being frozen over I drove up and down it several times with my sister, Lady Emlyn, and her boy.

February 23rd.—Lord John Russell, having broken up one Ministry, has now accepted the Colonial Office. Any way, he has caused a really strong man, who knows what is what, to become Premier.

Sir James Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert,¹ and Mr. Gladstone have resigned the Admiralty, the Colonial Office, and the Exchequer, and are replaced by Sir Charles Wood, Lord John, and Sir George Lewis.² Mr. Layard, M.P., is to be Under-Secretary to Lord John.

February 25th.—Louis Napoleon is bent upon going to the Crimea to command. This would cause horrible complications, and ought to be prevented.

¹ Second son of 11th Earl of Pembroke.

² 2nd Baronet.

March 3rd.—To-day I went over to Paris, where I learned of the death of the Emperor Nicholas yesterday. Princess Lieven says she thinks it will bring about peace, and she seems gratified at the tone of Lord Clarendon's speech in the Lords about it.

March 7th.—Returning from Paris to-day I travelled with Colonel Bunbury, of the 23rd Fusiliers, and he told me many stories corroborating what has been stated as to mismanagement and the hardships of our troops.

March 10th.—Count Walewski is reported to have said that Palmerston and Clarendon ought to be in every British Ministry, and also "What influence can a country like England pretend to exercise when she has no Army and no Government?"

March 21st.—To-day was observed as a Day of Humiliation for the war. This time, if any people ought to feel humiliated at wanton waste of life, needless infliction of suffering, and inadequate preparation for war, it is ourselves!

April 16th.—The Emperor and Empress of the French came over to England and drove through London on their way to Windsor.

April 20th.—The Imperial guests went to the Guildhall yesterday with much pomp, and last night they received a great ovation at the Opera. To-day they have been to the Crystal Palace, and to-morrow they return to France. The Queen has given the "Garter" to the Emperor.

April 22nd.—I hear the object of promoting the

Imperial visit has been attained, and Louis Napoleon has been persuaded not to go to the Crimea.

April 30th.—Lord John Russell has returned from Vienna, as the Conference has been broken up. The proposals to Russia are considered, both here and in France, to be too favourable to her.

May 1st.—The following *jeu d'esprit* concerning the "Garter" given to the Emperor has been sent me from Paris, and it shows that the hostility to the Empress cannot be suppressed :—

"La Reine d'Angleterre vient d'envoyer à l'Empereur l'Ordre de la Jarretière avec ces deux mots ;

" ' Mon frère, je t'envois la Jarretière pour empêcher tes bas (Théba) de glisser.' "

May 15th.—There has been a debate in the House of Lords on the abuses of patronage and the evils of nepotism, and Lord Granville in his speech quoted me as being the only Cavendish officially employed.

May 18th.—The Queen distributed medals for the Crimea on the Horse Guards Parade, and it was a beautiful and touching sight. The Duke of Cambridge, Lord Lucan,¹ and Lord Cardigan headed the procession.

May 19th.—The Queen's birthday being observed to-day, I was at Lord Clarendon's diplomatic dinner at the Foreign Office, and then went to Lady Lansdowne's party.

May 22nd.—Lady Clarendon gave a large party to-night at the Foreign Office, and there my brother Frederick told me he had heard last night at the

¹ 3rd Earl.

Lansdowne's that the expedition had sailed from the Crimea for Kertch. I had heard of the intended expedition some days ago, but it was a State secret, hence I was much surprised it had become public property. I believe more State secrets are let out by Cabinet Ministers and their wives than by young officials!

Canrobert has been removed by the Emperor from the command of the French Army, and Pelissier is appointed in his place. Canrobert takes over Pelissier's Division. In Paris they say Canrobert has resigned because he cannot get on with Lord Raglan!

May 28th.—The expedition to Kertch on the 24th was successful, and we captured thirty ships full of corn. At the Queen's ball to-night I heard that Sir George Brown had moved on to Yenikale, and had asked for reinforcements, which are to be sent.

June 11th.—In the fighting over the Gravel Pits on the 7th and 8th we lost 51 officers and 730 men killed and wounded.

June 14th.—The Russians have fired on one of our ship's boats at Hango in the Baltic, killing every one in it but three men. It is a most disgraceful act, for the boat was landing some Finnish prisoners under a flag of truce, though she was also sounding, which is not allowable, under such conditions. The prisoners were all killed.

June 22nd.—On the 18th the English and French attacked the Redan and Malakoff, but were repulsed with severe loss.

June 24th.—There was a great mob in Hyde Park to-day, with orators holding forth about Lord Robert Grosvenor's Sunday Trading Bill.

June 29th.—Lord Raglan, who has cholera, is reported to be better.

June 30th.—Lord Raglan died on the 28th.

There was a great deal of disturbance in Hyde Park to-day.

July 1st.—General Simpson succeeds Lord Raglan, who, I am told, really died because broken down by the failure at the Redan and the abuse of him by Members of Parliament, Ministers, and the Press.

July 6th.—General Pélissier's account of the fighting on June 18th clearly indicates there was a series of mistakes throughout the action.

Lord Raglan's body is to be brought to England in the *Caradoc*, in charge of his four aides-de-camp.

July 7th.—Lord John Russell has made a most unsatisfactory speech about the Vienna Conference, and it shows how shifty and self-seeking he is. He was for war before, then at Vienna for peace, afterwards for war again, tacitly if not actually, and now all for peace. He is evidently trying to break up this Ministry and come in himself.

The Queen and Prince Albert go to Paris on August 17th.

July 10th.—Lord Clanricarde brought forward a motion in the Lords about our diplomatic work, and he moved for a copy of the Foreign Office List, because there was some return in it which he wanted to see.

Lord Malmesbury talked to me at White's about

the List last night, and said his only objection to it was that it publicly showed up jobs, and referred to two which he had perpetrated himself in making Foreign Office clerks into consuls. Personally, I cannot see why a square man should be kept in a round hole, when there is a square one to fit him into.

July 14th.—Lord John Russell resigned yesterday.

July 16th.—Lord John withdrew his resignation yesterday, but it was not announced at once.

July 17th.—Mr. Roebuck made a violent attack on the Government over the motion of Sir Edward Lytton (which was withdrawn owing to the resignation of Lord John Russell), and he accused them of wanting to make a premature peace.

This refers to Lord John's proceedings at the Conference. There Count Buol, on April 1st, proposed that if Russia increased her fleet in the Black Sea, Turkey might maintain a force equal to it, and France and England each one equal to half of it, whilst an increase by Russia beyond her fleet strength of 1853 would be a *casus belli* with Austria. Lord John and Drouyn de Lhuys approved of this proposal, but the English Government and Louis Napoleon did not, and Drouyn de Lhuys was recalled. When this was discovered by the Opposition Lord John resigned. He was succeeded at the Colonial Office by Sir William Molesworth.¹

July 19th.—The vote of censure was lost by 289 to 182.

July 21st.—Government only had a majority of

¹ 8th Baronet.

three over the Loan of five millions to Turkey for pay of her troops. Several Tories refused to join Gladstone and Disraeli in voting against it.

August 8th.—I dined at Blackwall to-night with the rest of the Ministerial Private Secretaries, and it was a very cheery party.

August 17th.—General Liprandi attacked the French and Sardinians on the Tchernaya River yesterday.

August 21st.—The Queen and Prince Albert had a magnificent reception in Paris yesterday. It is 432 years since an English reigning Sovereign has been in Paris, and then it was the baby Henry VI!

August 27th.—The Queen returned from France, and Lord Clarendon told me everything had gone off very well. He had been in attendance, and was frightfully tired.

August 29th.—General Cannon and I have had a long conversation, and he does not think the destruction of the stores in the Sea of Azof will have any effect upon Sebastopol.

September 2nd.—I arrived in Berlin with despatches for Lord Augustus Loftus, and next day went on to Vienna with a bag for Henry Elliot,¹ on my way to escort my sister and her girls back to England.

September 7th.—Having gone by train yesterday to Bruck, whence we had to post in my sister's chariot to Munich, we found we could get no post-horses, as the Empress of Austria had arrived just before us and taken them all, twenty-four in number.

¹ Second son of 2nd Earl of Minto.

We got away to-day, and reached Ischl on the 8th. We there had a charming excursion on the lake, and admired the grand scenery. In the evening there was a severe thunderstorm, which lit up the mountains in a wonderful manner. We met the Empress driving four skewbald ponies in a chaise, and also the Emperor walking about the town.

September 11th.—Being at Salzburg, we visited the Imperial villa, Heilbrunn, and Prince Schwarzenburg's place, Aigir, both very pretty properties. The landlord of our hotel told me that the Emperor had telegraphed to the Empress Mother, who lives here, that the Malakoff had been taken.

September 13th.—At Rosenheim I bought a German newspaper, which states the French took the Malakoff, and that we failed at the Redan; nevertheless, Sebastopol was taken, as the Russians retired, destroying the town and their fleet, on the 9th. I hope this good news is true. The paper also says our losses have been very heavy.

September 24th.—I paid a visit to the Paris Exposition, which is very interesting and beautiful.

September 27th.—General Z. writes: "I fear from what occurred in the Redan that the 'moral' in our infantry is very much shaken, and that the men are no longer the obedient and well-organized soldiers they were at the beginning of the campaign. There appears to have been no lack of personal bravery, but an absence of that command in officers over their men which is absolutely necessary to insure success in a hazardous attack such as they were engaged in. I cannot see what our object could

have been in attacking the Redan, since it was commanded by the Malakoff, and it was known that as long as the latter was held by the Russians the Allies could not hold the Redan, supposing they did capture it. Yet as soon as the French announce their success at the Malakoff, the British are sent at the Redan, and hundreds of excellent soldiers are sacrificed in a fruitless attempt to wrest from the Russians a work which they must have shortly abandoned, and did abandon after repulsing our attack. I fear, therefore, the long and sad list of casualties is another instance of our lavish expenditure of life and money. I hope it is true that negotiations for peace are being opened, for I dread our having to carry on the war in the open field. What we have done hitherto has been by hard fighting and not by generalship, and I fear we would find ourselves overmatched if we once came to anything like manœuvring. It was the fashion last summer for some people to say the French would not fight, but the Malakoff settles that point very satisfactorily."

October.—This month I spent in Wales with Lord Cawdor and the Emlyns.

October 10th.—Odessa was yesterday bombarded by our fleet.

October 16th.—The Russians have lost 3,500 men in an attack upon Kars, which is defended by the Turks under General Fenwick Williams.

October 19th.—The Allies have landed at Kinburn and taken Taman.

November 19th.—Propositions for peace have

been received from Count Buol and M. Bourqueney, which meet with some approval.

November 20th.—The Cabinet sat to consider the peace propositions put forward by France. Louis Napoleon is very anxious for peace, and we are somewhat peremptorily told to fall into line with him. Lord Palmerston says that sooner than make an unsatisfactory peace we will continue the war alone.

December 11th.—Kars fell to the Russians on November 28th, starvation having caused its capitulation, and the garrison are prisoners of war. It has been a gallant defence, and at the end all animals in the town, including the cats and dogs, had been eaten. Amongst the brave defenders was Klapka, who defended Comom so well in Hungary in 1849. The Allies could easily have sent assistance to Kars after the fall of Sebastopol were it not for the mental and physical exhaustion of the Home Governments.

December 17th.—My brother-in-law, General Craufurd, who commands the Guards Brigade in the Crimea, writes that the 2nd and Light Divisions are pretty well hutted, as they have occupied the same ground since they came out. The 1st Division (in which are the Guards) is worse off, as it has been moved since the fall of Sebastopol, which supplies a good deal of planking and bricks for making huts, kitchens, &c. The great docks are being mined, and will be ready for destruction in a fortnight. The Russians on the north side shell the town, and particularly the docks, but do

not cause many casualties. They fire also a good deal on the Inkerman side, and sometimes trouble visitors to the Malakoff. The Land Transport horses have been dying very fast from overwork and want of shelter.

December 19th.—There is some talk of a Council of War to meet in Paris, consisting of the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Lyons, General Lamarmora, and others.

December 30th.—General Craufurd says our troops continue healthy, being very well fed, which is all-important in that climate. Huts are being sent back to Constantinople in the ships that brought them, the impossibility of getting them up on to the plateau where the 1st Division is camped having been recognized owing to the bad roads and the breakdown of the Land Transport, which has gone to utter ruin.

1856

January 5th.—The explosion of the mines in the Sebastopol docks has been delayed first by an inrush of water, and then, when they were pumping them out, there came a frost and formed a mass of ice.

January 15th.—The whole basin and the five docks at Sebastopol have at last been blown up, and are now a heap of ruins. On 29th some Russian boats came over near the English part of the town and were fired into by the guards, upon which a tremendous fire of shot and shell

was kept up by the Russian batteries for more than an hour, the quays being swept with grape.

January 16th.—The review in Paris of the troops returned from the Crimea was a great success. The Duke of Cambridge accompanied the Emperor, who handed our Queen's medal to each soldier.

January 17th.—Russia has accepted the terms proposed as a basis of peace. I dined to-night at the Reform Club with Doctor Sandwith, who has just arrived from Kars, where he was Secretary to the "Civil Commissioner to the Osmanli Irregular Cavalry in Asia," and he told me most interesting stories of the siege, but unfortunately I cannot remember them sufficiently to record.

January 18th.—Lord Clarendon is to attend the Peace Conference in Paris.

January 25th.—Sir Hamilton Seymour at Vienna is pressing for the signing of the preliminaries of peace, but that cannot be done yet. He is not a great success, and should never have been sent there.

January 30th.—The Conference cannot open for three weeks, as the orders to sign the Protocol were only sent off last night.

At White's this evening I saw Lord Cardigan, who was in uniform, wearing the Legion of Honour, which he has no right to do, as the Queen has not yet given him leave to do so.

February 6th.—Lord Clarendon and his Foreign Office Staff left for Paris.

March 1st.—Rumour says Lord Clarendon is

returning and the Conference will be broken up. Judge Parke's Life Peerage as Baron Wensleydale revives an obsolete right of the Crown which has not been used since the reign of Richard II. The House of Lords objected to the innovation as being derogatory to the hereditary dignity, and the Conservatives in the Commons dislike it, as they fear that by means of such Peerages a Government could swamp the House of Lords.

The Government have given way, and Lord Wensleydale is to receive an hereditary Peerage as well as the Life dignity.

March 9th.—A diplomatic friend in Paris, in writing about the Conference, says the French are lying like troopers, and throwing us over at every step. Their soldiers are dying like flies in the Crimea, and they are almost obliged to accept any terms of peace the Russians will give them. Lords Clarendon and Cowley stand quite alone in the Conference, and the Russians, who know all this perfectly well, are doing their utmost to divide us from France. Things look bad enough just now.

March 10th.—General Craufurd writes there is a rumour in the Crimea that the Conference at Paris has been broken off because the Allies will not admit Prussia to it, but such a thing could not be believed. On February 22nd the first execution in our Crimean Army took place. A youth of nineteen, who had murdered a wounded artilleryman in hospital to get some money from his person, was hanged in the presence of 5,000 or 6,000 troops

who had been ordered to attend. He died quite impenitent.

March 11th.—At the Exeter Hall to-night Jenny Lind sang most beautifully.

March 12th.—To-day's rumours are as follows :—
Peace has been signed.

Lord Clarendon to be Prime Minister.

Lord Palmerston to be made an Earl and President of the Council.

Lord John Russell to be Secretary for Education (an office to be created).

March 15th.—The Empress Eugénie has a son.

March 21st.—Prussia has not hitherto been allowed to be represented in the Conference, because she backed out of the Compact during the war, but on 18th she was admitted. I hear that in order to save Prussian *amour propre*, Count Walewski proposed a manipulation of the record of the proceedings so as to make it appear that she had been there all the time, but Lord Clarendon would not agree to this.

March 22nd.—The Treaty of Peace is to be signed next week.

March 24th.—Rumour has it that the Conference has gone all wrong. Louis Napoleon has been coquetting so much with Russia that I am not surprised.

March 30th.—The treaty really has been signed, and it is peace!

March 31st.—Spencer Ponsonby brought the treaty over from Paris, and gets £500 for so doing.

April 11th.—Lord Palmerston has been given the Garter, and well deserves it.

April 20th.—The engagement of the Princess Royal to Prince Frederick William of Prussia has at last been given out.

April 22nd.—Lord Clarendon has returned from the Conference.

The war has cost us eighty millions of money and 22,000 men. The French have lost 80,000 men, the Sardinians 2,000, and the Russians 250,000; hence the terms of peace arranged are scarcely commensurate with such sacrifices. They are—

1. The Black Sea to be neutral, but all ships of war to be excluded from it.

2. Any dispute between Turkey and one of the signatory Powers to be referred to their combined decision.

3. The Sultan's firman giving advantages to the Christians of the Greek Church issued in May, 1854, is confirmed.

4. All conquests during the war are to be restored.

5. The frontiers of Bessarabia and Turkey in Asia to be demarcated.

6. The navigation of the Danube to be free under a Commission.

7. The Danubian Principalities to be independent under the suzerainty of Turkey.

8. Privateering to be abolished.

9. Neutral flag to cover all goods except contraband of war.

Turkey and Russia are to sign a separate Convention concerning the Revenue cruisers to be kept up (each Power six steamers of 800 tons and four of 200 tons), and to abstain from forming any arsenal in the Euxine.

April 30th.—I hear from General Craufurd that Admiral Fremantle had said he had orders to embark 6,000 of the Sardinians, and rumour says the Guards will follow. Now that there is peace the Russian officers are very civil, and the cordiality of their hospitality involves the consumption of enormous, and sometimes embarrassing, quantities of champagne. The French camps are full of Russian soldiers, with whom the French fraternize very much.

May 1st.—Being in Paris, I saw Madame Ristori playing in “Medea.” She is a wonderful actress, and seems to have more life in her than Mademoiselle Rachel.

May-June.—Having two months’ leave, I went to the South of France and visited the western Pyrenean districts, making many excursions in those beautiful and savage mountains.

Returning to Paris by way of Tours, I found much of the Loire Valley still under water from the recent terrible inundations. Even in the town of Tours the water had been eight and nine feet deep, and the hotel at which I put up had suffered severely. The railway between Tours and Blois having been washed away, I was forced to hire a carriage, and that short journey (thirty-five miles) occupied nine hours!

June 7th.—I am told that the United States Government is behaving very badly, but I do not think there will be a real row. It was very much the same thing at the time of the Oregon frontier row in 1845, when the influential people of the South and the commercial magnates were at last obliged to put a stopper on the American Government. I expect it will be a similar case now, as I hear that in New York they are in a funk.

June 8th.—Mr. Crampton,¹ our Ambassador at Washington, has been dismissed by the United States Government, and has gone to Toronto. Diplomatic relations were suspended on May 28th, and there are all the elements of a war.

June 14th.—Arriving in Paris this evening I found the whole town illuminated, and every one gone wild on account of the baptism of the Prince Imperial.

June 20th.—Crampton has been removed from his post by us, not because we have anything against him, but because the Americans make his dismissal a personal question. We have a very good case for not dismissing Mr. Dallas, the American Ambassador in London.

In order to get recruits under our Foreign Enlistment Act for the Crimean War, a recruiting office was opened at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and our agents went into the United States to induce men to go to Halifax to enlist. This, the Americans allege, was done with the knowledge of our Ambassador, and it being contrary to their laws, they hold it to be an insult to the American

¹ Afterwards Sir John, 2nd Baronet.

Eagle. Hence his excitement and piercing screams!

June 30th.—Lord Shelburne¹ is to be Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

July 2nd.—The vote of censure over the American business was signally defeated last night by 194 votes. Lord Palmerston sat heavily upon the charges that we had a guilty knowledge of the tricks of the agents, and had weakly allowed “the Eagle” to trample on us.

The worst of parvenu nations is that they have no traditions of good manners!

July 8th.—There was a great review at the new camp at Aldershot, before the Queen, Prince Albert, the King of the Belgians, and Prince Oscar of Sweden. Lord Hardinge, whilst handing a report to the Queen, had a stroke of paralysis, and had to be taken back to London. [He died September 24th.]

July 9th.—The three battalions of Guards who have returned from the Crimea were reviewed to-day by the Queen. Headed by my brother-in-law, General Craufurd, they marched past the front of Buckingham Palace inside the railings before the Queen and Royal Family, the King of the Belgians, the Duchess and Princess Mary of Cambridge, Princess Charlotte of Belgium, the Count of Flanders, and Prince Oscar of Sweden. They then moved into Hyde Park, joined the three battalions who had not been on service, and then were again inspected by the Queen. The

¹ Afterwards 5th Marquis of Lansdowne.

survivors looked fit and well fed, but there were many well-remembered faces missing, and it is painful to think of how many had lost their lives, not in battle, but through the incapacity and neglect of those in high places.

July 14th.—The Duke of Cambridge succeeds Lord Hardinge as Commander-in-Chief, but it is not a popular appointment, for people are afraid of Royal patronage keeping the control of the Army out of the hands of Ministers. Be that as it may, he is an honest, if somewhat thick-headed, gentleman (which some Ministers are not!) and a proved soldier. This should guarantee the Army not being made a political shuttlecock, which is the object of every Ministry, but I sadly fear the Treasury, and political needs, will be too much for poor "George P"!

July 30th.—The Treasury has sanctioned a grant of two thousand pounds to the Foreign Office, as remuneration to the clerks for the extra work caused by the late war. Owing to my holding the appointment of Précis Writer, I was not allowed to share in this munificent grant.

August 3rd.—Lord Palmerston has for the last two years allowed a Guards band to play in Kensington Gardens, where I have several times heard it on a Sunday afternoon. Now, it appears, the clergy, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, have protested so strongly against this desecration of the Sabbath that Lord Palmerston will not allow the bands to play any more.

I am all in favour of Sunday being a day for

rest and religious exercise, but as the playing of the band in the Park leads to no immorality, irreverence, or disturbance, and on the contrary affords innocent pleasure to many lovers of music, who seldom get a chance of hearing good instrumental music, I cannot see why the Archbishops should object. If the clergy, from the Archbishop downwards, would improve themselves and their churches, and not be such narrow-minded bigots, they might have a better chance of competing with the public-houses and other Sunday haunts, and not be driven to be jealous of the attractions of good music, fresh air, and green trees.

September 6th.—Lord Clarendon has written to Chreptovich, the Russian Ambassador, complaining of the way Russia is obstructing and evading the treaty. She has delayed handing back Kars, has seized the Island of Serpents at the mouth of the Danube, and is trying to steal more of Turkey for the Bessarabian frontier than was intended. Our fleet has gone to the Black Sea.

September 8th.—There was much excitement in the Office to-day over procuring a messenger to go to Paris with despatches asking for the co-operation of the French against Chinese rebels who are threatening to attack Shanghai.

September 10th.—Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, has sent by the hands of M. Marochetti a proposal to marry Princess Mary of Cambridge, which honour she refuses to entertain.

September 19th.—I went to the Princess Theatre, in the Queen's box, to see "Pizarro," which was put on the stage in a wonderfully fine way.

October 18th.—Lord Ernest Vane¹ has been turned out of the Army for practical joking, which I hope will put a damper upon other empty-headed young gentlemen who indulge in such silly pranks.

October 30th.—The French want to have a Congress between France, England, Austria, Russia, and Sardinia, to discuss the questions of the Bessarabian frontier and the Island of Serpents.

November 6th.—Mr. Petre, our Minister at Naples, tells me the King will refuse to make any change in his mis-government unless compelled to do so by force.

M. Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, is in disgrace, and it is said Baron Brennier will succeed him.

December 20th.—The Neuchâtel question is getting serious, as Prussia is preparing to invade Switzerland, but France and England are combining to put a stopper on that.

December 30th.—The Bessarabian frontier question is all but settled, and the Conference opens at Paris to-morrow. Austria, England, and Sardinia are against France and Russia, but as nobody wants to fight about it, the result is a foregone conclusion.

¹ Third son of 3rd Marquis of Londonderry.

CHAPTER VI

1857-1859

The Persian War—The Chinese War, 1858—Disraeli's attack on Lord Palmerston—W. E. Gladstone finds a "mare's nest"—The beautiful Contessa di Castiglione—The Indian Mutiny—The question of the Danubian Principalities—Lord Canning's "Clemency" Proclamation—The Bank of England crisis—I resign my appointment—The Orsini outrage and the Refugee Bill—The marriage of the Princess Royal—The *Cagliari* question—Memoirs of Lord Cornwallis—Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak—Lord Ellenborough's resignation—The Jews admitted to Parliament—The treaty with Japan—The intrigues of Napoleon III with Count Cavour—The Italian War of 1859—Napoleon III makes war in luxury—More leakage of State secrets—The Battle of Solferino—The Peace of Villafranca.

1857

January 6th.—The Neuchâtel question is practically settled, and in a peaceful way.

January 30th.—The success of the Indian Expedition to Persia is reported.

By the agreement made in 1853 the Shah of Persia contracted not to attack Herat unless it was invaded from the East and even then he would not continue to occupy it. At the end of

1855 Seyid Mahomed was ruler of Herat, when a rebellion broke out and Yusuf Khan was put on the throne. At the same time Dost Mahomed of Cabul attacked Kandahar. The Shah chose to consider this as a preliminary to an attack on Herat, so sent troops and captured it. In December, 1855, the Shah wrote a letter in which he spoke of Mr. C. Murray, Minister at Teheran, in insulting terms and ordered him to leave the capital. The Governor-General of India declared war against Persia on November 1st last year, ships and troops were sent, and Bushire was captured on December 10th.

February 2nd.—The snowfall having been very great, for the last three days I have been driving about London in my sledge.

February 18th.—We are also at war with China over a question that will cause trouble to the Government.

According to the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 between us and China, criminals of both races were to be hunted out and returned for trial by their own authorities, and all British trading vessels were to have a register under the seal of the Chief Superintendent of Trade. In 1855 an Ordinance of Hong-Kong allowed registers for twelve months to vessels owned by British subjects. In the case of the "lorcha" (a trading junk) *Arrow* the owner was a Chinaman resident in Hong-Kong, but not naturalized as a British subject. The ship's register lapsed in September, 1856, and whilst she was lying in the

Canton River the Chinese seized the whole crew, alleging one was a pirate. Consul Parkes demanded that the crew should be sent to the Consulate. Sir John Bowring, the Superintendent of Trade, said that the *Arrow* had no right to fly the British flag, but as the Chinese had no knowledge of the expiration of the register, they had violated the treaty. Yeh, the Chinese Commissioner, refused reparation, so Bowring summoned Sir M. Seymour with the fleet, which on October 26th took some forts opposite the city. Consul Parkes had demanded restitution and apology, but Yeh now gave up the crew, at the same time demanding back two of them as pirates. Parkes refused to recognize this as restitution and apology, and sent all the poor fellows back, making a new demand. By the Nanking Treaty the free entry of the British into Canton had been conceded, but had always been evaded, and this Bowring now pressed for, but ineffectually. In November the Bogue and other forts were captured with six hundred guns, but the Chinese have made reprisals, burned Shameen with its factories, and massacred with great cruelty the European crew of the *Thistle*. Sir M. Seymour is waiting for reinforcements.

February 19th.—There have lately been stormy passages in the Commons between Lord Palmerston and Disraeli. The latter, on the opening of Parliament, accused Lord Palmerston of encouraging the Liberals in Italy to strike for freedom, notwithstanding that all the time he

knew well there existed between France and Austria a secret treaty, whereby the former Power guaranteed to the latter the possession of her territories in Italy.

Palmerston denied any knowledge of such a treaty, but he admitted that, early in the Crimean War, there had been an understanding that if Russia stirred up risings in Italy in order to distract Austria's attention from her eastern frontier, France would send troops to Italy to co-operate with any troops Austria might have there, and to restore order.

A few nights later Disraeli renewed his statements, and Palmerston said there was a signed agreement as to what he had before stated, but he again denied the existence of any permanent treaty to that effect, so far as he knew. Disraeli has evidently got hold of some secret information of sorts, probably from M. Walewski.

February 28th.—Last night in the Lords the Government had a majority of thirty-six over the Chinese question.

Lord Palmerston to-day had a satisfactory meeting at his house on Ministerial affairs, and he means to dissolve if beaten.

The Duke of Buckingham has promised Lord Clarendon that forty members of the Opposition will vote with the Government!

March 3rd.—Last night, during the debate in the Commons on Chinese affairs, W. E. Gladstone made it a great point that although Sir J. Bowring had been appointed to be Superintendent

of Trade in China, while he (Gladstone) was in the Government, yet the appointment had been entirely made by Lord Clarendon, and the rest of the Ministers knew nothing about it. Upon searching the papers of 1853 I found that Lord Aberdeen, one of the Ministers, had seen the proposal for the appointment of Bowring, and had approved it in writing, so Gladstone, who was fearfully excited on the subject, has found a "mare's nest."

March 4th.—The Government were beaten last night by sixteen in the Chinese War debate. There has been a Cabinet Meeting to-day, and Lord Palmerston has been to Windsor to see the Queen.

A Peace with Persia was signed in Paris to-day, by which the Shah withdraws from Herat, relinquishes all claims to its sovereignty or of any part of Afghanistan, and all right to interfere therein. He has been brought to this by the later events of the war. After the capture of Bushire, reinforcements were sent, and Sir James Outram with five thousand men completely defeated the Persians, captured their fortified position at Mohamera, near the mouth of the Euphrates, and the town of Ahwaz farther inland. This brought the Shah of Persia to his knees and saved us from a very disagreeable campaign in a horrible country.

Lord Napier has been appointed Ambassador to the United States in place of Mr. Crampton. Diplomatic relations have been renewed, as the

Americans accepted our apology for the alleged illegal acts of our agents.

March 5th.—The dissolution was announced in both Houses to-day. It is a good thing, for the sooner we get rid of the Derby Parliament of 1852, which came in by bribery and corruption, the better for us.

March 7th.—I went to Lady Palmerston's party, which was crowded with people and politics.

March 9th.—Went to the Princess Theatre with my sister, in the Queen's box.

March 11th.—The Duke of Newcastle is offered the mission to China.

March 12th.—I went to Lady Granville's party, and there learned that Tom Ashburnham¹ has got command of the troops for China.

March 14th.—The Duke of Newcastle having declined China, Lord Elgin goes there as Ambassador. In the evening I went to Lady Clarendon's party at the Foreign Office.

March 21st.—Parliament was prorogued and dissolved.

Femkhi Khan came to the Office to see Lord Clarendon.

April 15th.—The Government have a majority of seventy-nine as the result of the elections.

April 30th.—H.R.H. the Duchess of Gloucester² died to-day.

The new Parliament commenced sitting.

May 25th.—I went to the Princess Theatre to

¹ Fourth son of 3rd Earl of Ashburnham.

² Sister of King William IV.

see Charles Kean's "Richard II," which was splendidly put on the stage.

May 26th.—The Queen's birthday, so I attended the usual official dinner at the Foreign Office.

May 27th.—Went to Epsom Races, and saw Blink Bonny win the Derby.

May 28th.—I went to the Lyceum to hear Miss Balfe sing in "Somnambula." It was her first appearance, but I did not like her voice. Thence I went on to Mrs. Vernon Smith's ball.

[Miss Balfe afterwards married Sir John Crampton, the diplomatist.]

May 30th.—The Grand-Duke Constantine of Russia arrived on a visit to the Queen, in order to be given a little antidote to French mind-poisoning against us.

June 2nd.—I went to Mrs. Richard Cavendish's¹ ball.

June 6th.—I went to the Drawing Room, which was terribly crowded and more of a bear-garden than ever.

June 7th.—I drove down to the Duke of Buccleuch's villa at Richmond to dine with the Emlyns.

June 26th.—The parade of troops in Hyde Park, when the Queen gave the Victoria Cross to the Crimean heroes, was a magnificent sight.

I went to the concert at the Crystal Palace and saw the fountains play.

June 27th.—I had to interview the Lord Mayor, who came to ask questions about the civic reception of Prince Frederick William of Prussia.

¹ Wife of second son of 2nd Baron Waterpark.

There is very bad news from India. The Sepoy revolt has spread to the Bengal Army, and Delhi is in the hands of the mutineers, who have massacred all Europeans.

July 8th.—I saw Ristori acting in “Macbeth” to-night, and she was very good indeed.

July 9th.—I went to the Queen’s ball at Buckingham Palace. The new ballroom is very fine, but is too much decorated in too many styles.

July 11th.—At the Queen’s ball, the beautiful Florentine, Contessa di Castiglione, attracted a good deal of scandalized attention, as she is the mistress of Napoleon III. She is supposed to be a paid agent, or spy, of Count Cavour’s, and she is likewise celebrated in Paris for her startling dress, or rather the lack of it!

People are asking how it came about that this lady was invited to the ball.

Sir Charles Wood stated in the Commons that up to May 10th no fresh operations in China had taken place, that no instructions had been sent to China to send the troops of the expedition back to India, but that the Governor-General had sent to Ceylon to ask Lord Elgin for the troops.

A friend of mine, who knows India well, ascribes the Mutiny to the following causes:—The best regimental officers were taken for Staff and Civil appointments; thus those left with native regiments were the inferior ones. Increase of facilities for going home, and larger white society tended to prevent the same study and knowledge of the native soldier as formerly. Most of the senior officers,

both Staff and Regimental, were past their work. The annexation of the Mahratta territories ; refusal to recognize as Peishwa Nana Sahib, son of the late ruler ; annexation of Oudh in 1855 ; the new law for general enlistment since the Brahmin soldiers declined to cross the sea, or *kala pani* (black water), on religious grounds ; the new method of collecting revenue ; the new cartridges—all these were predisposing causes of the Mutiny, which has long been smouldering and in preparation.

There have been several previous isolated mutinies of native troops (some on religious grounds), which had been put down with more or less difficulty, but this one promises to be far-reaching. It began at Berampore in February, spread to Barrackpore in March, and in April to Umballa, Lucknow, and Meerut. At the latter station the native troops rose on May 10th, murdered most of the Europeans, and, after wrecking the cantonments, marched to Delhi, where the natives joined them, murdered their officers, and put the old King back on the throne of the Mogul. General Hewitt at Meerut procrastinated about employing his European troops, and allowed the rebels to escape. Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Allahabad are still holding out with small garrisons, otherwise the whole of northern India seems to be up.

July 12th.—This evening I had a long talk with the son of Count Taverna, who is a Milanese nobleman living on the Lake of Como. He is all against another rising such as in 1848–9, although bitterly anti-Austrian, and he said the Austrian

occupation must and will run out in time. He blamed the Austrians for not lowering the taxes, for not giving greater facilities for export, and for their slowness in building the railway between Milan and Venice, which only now, after twenty years' work, is approaching completion.

General George Anson¹ having died of cholera in India on May 27th, Sir Colin Campbell² succeeds him as Commander-in-Chief, and leaves for India to-night.

July 18th.—To-night I went to the Opera to hear Piccolomini in "La Traviata." She sings beautifully and acts the part better than Bosio.

Sir Henry Barnard, who succeeded General Anson in command of the troops, began the siege of Delhi last month.

Sir John Lawrence³ is keeping the Punjaub quiet with native Sikh levies, and has sent all his troops, under Nicholson, to Delhi. Scindia is also loyal, and is keeping the Gwalior Contingent from joining the rebels. Havelock is moving up to Lucknow, and relieved Allahabad on June 11th.

July 20th.—Harry Parkes, our Consul at Canton, writing from Hong-Kong at the end of May, says : "We are all awaiting the arrival of Lord Elgin, who will, I trust, see that his way to a settlement of local and general questions, to his reception at Peking, and to the readjustment on an extended and more sure basis of all our relations with this

¹ Second son of 1st Viscount Anson.

² Afterwards Lord Clyde.

³ Created Baron in 1869.

country, lies through the gates of Canton, which he must enter and hold. Then, but not before, he will find the Chinese ready and reasonable negotiators. I trust all negotiations with the 'dread Commissioner' Yeh-Ming-Shin are closed, for it cannot be expected that he would keep faith with us a moment if he saw an opportunity of breaking it and again resorting to treachery."

July 30th.—The Queen on 25th created Prince Albert Prince Consort in order to give him some precedence amongst foreign Royalties. In consequence, at Brussels yesterday, at the marriage of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria¹ to the Princess Charlotte of Belgium, he took precedence after the King of the Belgians and before the Archdukes, &c.

August 5th.—At Manchester I went to see the exhibition of fine arts, which is very good.

The Persians have refused to evacuate Herat.

The reports of the atrocities committed by the Indian mutineers upon white men, women, and children are terrible reading.

August 8th.—Lord Clarendon is at Osborne to meet the French Emperor and Empress. Affairs at Constantinople are looking better, and perhaps this visit may help to clear the air. But nothing satisfactory can be arranged as long as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe is there, and he ought to have been removed years ago.

The present dispute is about the union of the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia under

¹ Emperor of Mexico.

one ruler of another race, which France, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia approve, but England, Austria, and Turkey oppose.

August 11th.—The Emperor's visit passed off very satisfactorily, and matters are to be arranged.

For a long time Louis Napoleon has been desirous of altering the map of Europe, and of acquiring more territory. Since the Crimean War he has become more and more friendly with Russia, and has suggested an alliance between France, England, and Russia, to exclude Austria. He wished to put the Principalities under a stranger prince, and thus form a sufficient check to Russian designs on Constantinople. But this would have the effect of putting a fresh power on the flank of Austria, to which she naturally objects, and clings to the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1856). We, having just fought for the integrity of Turkey, could not consent to the alliance, and moreover the recent elections in Bessarabia have clearly shown that the inhabitants want two States. However, Louis Napoleon, Russia, and Sardinia say the election returns have been cooked, and peremptorily demand their being annulled. Louis Napoleon, as a result of the Osborne visit, has given up the idea of union, and we consent to the elections being held again.

August 22nd.—The news from India is not reassuring, and the accounts of the murders are painful. On July 12th Havelock defeated the mutineers at Futteypore, and with 1,500 men defeated Nana Sahib at Cawnpore on July 17th.

He found that the garrison had surrendered to Nana Sahib, on promise of safety, on June 26th, but on 27th he murdered them all except two men who escaped. The 240 women and children were kept locked up in the city until July 13th, when the brute had them all murdered and thrown down a well. It is refreshing to hear that a good many of these black fiends have already met their deserts. Being blown from the guns is a splendid punishment for them, and one of their own invention too! The troops for China were diverted by Lord Elgin to India.

September–October.—I was on leave in the South of Ireland, at Mount Shannon, fishing, shooting, and sightseeing.

September 24th.—The East India Company is irrevocably doomed, I hear. It has long been the fifth wheel to the coach, and so should go.

September 25th.—Lord Elgin could do no good in China without troops, and he was also obliged to wait for the arrival of Baron Gros, the French Special Commissioner, before going to Peking, so he has taken the opportunity of going to Calcutta for a few weeks, as he has parted with his troops to help Lord Canning. He took with him to Calcutta in H.M.S. *Shannon* a good lot of marines, and Captain Peel, and the latter has organized a Naval Brigade on the Ganges, which will no doubt do good service in keeping the communications clear. Lord Palmerston is as stout as a lion, and has no fear as to our eventual success; and Sir Charles Mills (Director of East India Company),

although much distressed by the horrors and the enormous destruction of property, says they will pull through, and Lord Canning says the same. Havelock has a tremendous task before him, as Lucknow is said to be enormously strong.

September 29th.—Lord Clarendon is very low about India, I am told, though the news from Delhi is favourable. There are fears about the loyalty of the Bombay and Madras Armies and much alarm for the fate of Lucknow.

September 30th.—The Indian news to-day is serious. Havelock's position is considered very dangerous, surrounded as he is by rebels on every side. If he is defeated at Cawnpore, it is expected that the rest of India will rise.

October 20th.—Lord Canning's "Clemency" Proclamation of July 30th is most extraordinary, and injudicious. In it he transfers the authority to punish mutineers from the military to the civil power, and further orders that the troops must send their prisoners for trial and punishment to Allahabad or keep them in gaols until they can be sent. This would mean locking up a large number of troops in guards and escorts to prisoners just when every man is wanted for fighting. It would have a bad effect on India, where magnanimity to prisoners is not understood, and would be ascribed to fear on our part. When the mutiny is crushed then let the civil power step in and clean up the mess and deal calmly with any prisoners left (of whom I trust there will be few). The proclamation is simply babyish! Lord Canning may be a very kind man (black man his

brother, and so forth), but he ought to know that you cannot quell a savage mutiny and reconquer half of India by using kid gloves and rose-water.

October 22nd.—The Gwalior Contingent mutinied against Scindia in August and joined the rebels. Delhi was assaulted on September 14th unsuccessfully, but it was stormed and taken on 17th with a loss to us of 1,200 officers and men killed and wounded. Hodson shot the two sons of the King of Delhi but spared the old man's life.

October 25th.—Lawrence¹ was besieged in Lucknow from the 1st July to September 25th, when Havelock succeeded in reaching and forcing his way into the place, losing 400 men, but there he has to remain for the present it appears.

November 5th.—Frederick Cadogan is supposed to have made use of his position in the Telegraph Department to deal on the Stock Exchange with knowledge thus acquired. If true, this may be sharp business practice in finance but hardly what a gentleman should do !

Concerning there-raising of the 5th Dragoons (now 5th Lancers), General Z. says : "An Irish cavalry regiment is, generally speaking, not a desirable one to have. The men are too dashing and have little regard for their horses, and when difficulties occur they think too much about themselves to be under any control."

Tom Ashburnham having had all his troops waylaid on their way to China, had to go to India, and has got command of a Division there.

¹ Sir Henry Lawrence ; died 1857.

November 13th.—Money affairs in the City and in the country are very bad, owing to the stoppage of numerous country banks through the over-speculation in railways. The Bank rate is 10 per cent., and yesterday the Bank of England had only £1,400,000, out of which they had to-day to pay two millions on public account, so the Government have allowed the Bank to issue notes above the legal limit, and Parliament is to assemble on December 3rd to legalize matters.

November 15th.—Claims for losses at the bombardment of Canton are coming in fast, and already amount to several million pounds I hear.

December 3rd.—I went to the Royal Gallery in the House of Lords to see the Queen pass to open Parliament. I had never been there before, and it was a fine spectacle.

December 8th.—Spencer Ponsonby has given up being Private Secretary to Lord Clarendon, on being appointed by the Queen to be Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's department, in the room of Norman Macdonald, who died suddenly on the 1st. I thought that, as I had during my five years as Précis Writer frequently acted as Private Secretary for weeks at a time, I might possibly succeed Ponsonby, but Lord Clarendon has appointed Villiers Lister, his nephew, to the post. I fully recognize that no amount of hard work or experience can compete with nepotism, and I have no personal objection to working with Lister, but as he is five years junior to me in the Office, seven in the Service, and eleven in age, and moreover has

enjoyed three Special Missions in the last five years, I have reluctantly decided to resign my post.

December 17th.—Sir Colin Campbell relieved Lucknow on November 17th, after a severe fight which caused us heavy losses. He is removing the garrison, women and children, to Cawnpore.

December 21st.—Philip Currie, cousin of Wodehouse, the Under-Secretary, has succeeded me as Précis Writer, and I have begun work as third clerk in Spring-Rice's division of the Office.

1858

January 6th.—When Sir Colin Campbell went on to Lucknow he left General Windham to hold Cawnpore. Tantia Topi, with the Gwalior Contingent and Jhansi troops, moved against Windham, who issued out of his entrenchments to meet them and got heavily defeated. Campbell, retiring from Lucknow, defeated Tantia Topi with great loss at Cawnpore on December 6th. Much blame is heaped on Windham, and according to one story he is to be tried by court-martial, but according to another he has committed suicide!

January 12th.—My uncle, Charles Cavendish, was gazetted to be Baron Chesham of Chesham in Buckinghamshire.

January 15th.—A man named Orsini last night attempted to murder Louis Napoleon by throwing a bomb at his carriage as he arrived at the Opera. The Emperor and Empress escaped, but 10 people were killed and 150 wounded.

January 20th.—Orsini and his accomplices appear

to have hatched the murder plot in England, and the French are furiously abusing us for harbouring such ruffians.

January 24th.—The Princess Royal was married to-day in the Chapel at St. James's Palace. I had a place in the Tapestry Room of the Palace to view the procession, which was well worth seeing. I thought the Princess looked too young to be married and the Prince of Prussia a disagreeable German.

In the afternoon I went down to Chatsworth for the funeral to-morrow of the Duke of Devonshire,¹ who died suddenly on 18th.

January 30th.—I went to Lady Palmerston's party this evening in spite of having been to the Queen's Drawing Room.

It appears that M. Walewski wrote a most offensive despatch on January 20th regarding our protection of assassins, to which no reply has as yet been sent. I hear the French are threatening us with war if we do not do something about these conspirators having asylum in England.

February 8th.—Lord Palmerston's Bill to amend the law as to refugees was brought in to-night and not very well received. It makes conspiracy to murder felony instead of misdemeanour. People do not think it strong enough, and consider it merely truckling to French annoyance.

February 10th.—The Refugee Bill passed its first reading last night by 299 to 99. People are enraged at the French abuse, and not disposed to

¹ 6th Duke.

give in to them. Some of the addresses to Louis Napoleon, especially from the French Army, are very funny. One demands "the punishment of the land which contains the haunts of the monsters who are sheltered by its laws. Give us the order, sire, and we will pursue them even to their strongholds"! "Hard words break no bones," and as we have made ourselves the vermin-trap of the world we must expect abuse.

February 13th.—Lord Palmerston introduced a Bill to abolish the East India Company and transfer its powers to the Crown.

February 20th.—The Government were beaten last night over Milner Gibson's amendment to the Refugee Bill by 234 to 215. Disraeli, who voted for the Bill on 9th, voted for the amendment last night! Palmerston has resigned in consequence of this defeat.

February 22nd.—Lord Derby is to be the new Premier, and Malmesbury comes to the Foreign Office with Seymour Fitzgerald as Under-Secretary.

February 25th.—Lord Malmesbury took over the Foreign Office to-day. I have been posted to the Consular Department by orders of Hammond, the permanent Under-Secretary. This is an unpopular department and a hard-worked one.

March 1st.—Baron Brennier tells me Walewski's despatch was written by a clerk in the French Foreign Office, and he signed it without weighing the purport of his expressions. It was not expected that we would answer it.

March 2nd.—Concerning the Naples affairs of

1856, when the English and French fleets were sent to threaten King "Bomba," Baron Brennier says we ought to have followed up our dictation, and then the King would have given way to force. He also said that the King intended to have released Baron Poerio before the discussions commenced, but after our dictation had begun he could not do so. The so-called "Muratism" at Naples has no feeling for Prince Murat himself, and the party only called themselves by that name from pleasant recollections of the Liberalism of King Joachim Murat.

March 3rd.—I went to Madame Walewski's party at the French Foreign Office, where the rooms are magnificently arranged for such entertainments.

March 4th.—Doctor Bernard, a friend of Orsini, has been arrested in London and is to be tried for being concerned in the attempt on the Emperor's life. I went to the Gymnase to see "Le Fils Naturel," in which Rose Chéri was very good.

March 9th.—I dined at our Embassy, and Lord Cowley told me his work is much easier now Malmesbury is Foreign Secretary, but it was always a great satisfaction to him to get Lord Clarendon's letters, for then he knew exactly what the British Government wished and how he himself should act.

Afterwards I went to a ball given by Madame Le Beys.

March 11th.—It is said the Emperor and Empress wish to pardon Orsini (whose execution

is fixed for to-morrow) because Her Imperial Majesty is frightened of what the scoundrel's associates may do, and hopes that leniency may soften their hearts. Although one does not know all the "ins and outs" of the question or how far the Emperor is committed to secret societies, I think to act thus would be mistaken generosity and productive of more outrages.

This morning I was taken to see the Archives Department in the French Foreign Office. The rooms are large and lofty, the papers are beautifully put together, and the minor arrangements are good. I wish our Office was as well contrived.

I was told there is an impression in Paris that our present Government is all in favour of the Comte de Paris, but I said to my informant that whether or no such was the view of Lord Derby and Company, it was certainly not the feeling of the British nation.

March 13th.—There has been a good deal of trouble over Malmesbury's reply to Walewski's despatch. Walewski at first refused to take our first or our second Note, but then Lord Cowley was ordered to again present the first, and Walewski's answer, quite a friendly one, came yesterday. M. Persigny, who is furious at the loss of Palmerston, has resigned his embassy in London.

I went to Lady Palmerston's party this evening, and thought his Lordship looked old and "down in the mouth."

March 16th.—Having sent to Baron Brennier a copy of our Foreign Office List, he writes: "Il

est bien intéressant pour un diplomate étranger, et c'est un modèle que je voudrais voir adopté dans notre F.O., mais il faudrait pour cela une patience d'archiviste que nous n'avons pas. Vos documents du même genre sont bien moins complets."

March 24th.—I went to the Queen's Levée, which was very hot and crowded.

Marshal Pélissier is to be successor to M. de Persigny. This seems an odd appointment, for Pélissier is an uneducated, coarse soldier, and twenty-five years of soldiering in Algeria is not a good education in diplomacy and ambassadorial manners.

Lord Malmesbury is changing our representatives abroad a good deal. He acted in the same way in 1852, and most of his appointments had to be undone within a year, as he put the round men into the square holes.

April 9th.—Erskine is suspended and Hudson reprimanded for a mistake at Turin over the *Cagliari* question. This has been going on for a long time between England, Sardinia, and Naples. The *Cagliari* was a Sardinian steamer fitted out and manned by the Carbonari (with the connivance of the Sardinian Government) with the intention of going to Sicily either to cause trouble there or war by being captured on the way. She had two English engineers, Watt and Park, on board, when captured by the Neapolitans, and they were imprisoned at Naples and Palermo. Naples refused to give up the ship and crew to

Sardinia or to release our countrymen, which we insisted upon. However, on March 11th Watt was released.

Sir James Hudson had been told by Lord Clarendon to address a Note to Count Cavour asking whether the Sardinian Government intended to object to the proceedings of the Neapolitans in seizing the *Cagliari* beyond the limit of their territorial jurisdiction. In the Chancery, Hudson's draft was altered by Erskine to read, "Her Majesty's Government are disposed to object," and the despatch thus altered was sent to Cavour. When this was discovered, Hudson was asked why he had let this letter go on, and he said he did not compare the letters put before him for signature with the original drafts. The despatches to both Diplomats, conveying reprimand and suspension respectively, were signed by Lord Malmesbury and were composed by Hammond in his most severe style, and there is a good deal of feeling in the Office that the expressions used are unjust towards Erskine.

April 10th.—I came across Charles Ross, who is compiling the memoirs of Lord Cornwallis,¹ and he told me he had asked the permission of Lord Clarendon to publish one of Cornwallis's despatches from St. Petersburg in 1766, respecting some idea there was of our enlisting Russians for service against the revolted American colonists. Lord Clarendon had refused, on the ground that the Americans might not like it! Considering that it

¹ 1st Marquess.

happened ninety years ago, when every Power employed mercenaries, and that we employed Germans, Hessians, and other foreigners against the colonists, it is difficult to understand why the Americans should feel hurt now at the thought of our having wished to employ Russians as well!

April 13th.—Lord John's resolution concerning the Government of India Bill was introduced last night, much to the apparent and expressed surprise of Disraeli. But the resolution had been concocted by Lord John and Lord Stanley (Colonial Secretary) at the house of the former at Richmond, and Disraeli knew of it, so his surprise was a piece of acting!

April 17th.—By an unexpected finding of the jury, Bernard has been acquitted, greatly to the annoyance of all respectable people, but much to the delight of other classes who see in the verdict a blow to Louis Napoleon. I went to Lady Palmerston's party, where the acquittal was hotly discussed. The evidence seems to me somewhat thin, however, and in any case we dared not hang him.

At the party I met Sir James Brooke, the extraordinary Englishman who is Rajah of Sarawak in Borneo. His career has been a strange one. He was born in 1803 the son of an Indian Civil Servant, who had managed to so "shake the pagoda tree" that he was able to leave to each of his children £30,000. Sir James began life at sixteen as an officer in the Indian Army, but left it after a few years, having been badly wounded in

Burma in 1825. In 1839 he fitted out and armed a steam yacht called the *Royalist* for exploration in the Malay Archipelago, and he settled in Sarawak in 1840. This district, a dependency of the Sultanate of Brunei, was misgoverned by the uncle and Prime Minister of the Sultan, Muda Hassim, who had been sent to put down an insurrection but was unable to do so until Brooke arrived on the scene. In September, 1841, Brooke was made Rajah of Sarawak by the Sultan, and Muda Hassim returned to Brunei. Assisted by Captain Keppel in H.M.S. *Dido*, Brooke in 1843-4 conquered the bloodthirsty Arab and Dyak pirates of Sekarang. Brooke came to England in 1847, and was made Governor of Labuan (an island off the coast of Borneo), becoming K.C.B. in 1848. Brooke's policy was to allow his country to gradually develop itself, and he was firm against having it exploited by trading companies. This, of course, was against Free Trade principles, and his rascally agent in London, a Mr. Wise, whilst nominally acting for Brooke was actually working against and swindling him, and trying to induce people to finance a company called The Eastern Archipelago Company for trade with Borneo. In the House of Commons Messrs. James Hume and Cobden denounced the Rajah for his oppression of "harmless necessary natives," referring to the murderous pirates of Sekarang! A campaign of lies, instigated by Wise, was kept up in 1853 by Hume, Cobden, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert, and Lord Aber-

been very weakly granted a Commission to inquire into Rajah Brooke's conduct. This assembled at Singapore in 1854, and Brooke was triumphantly cleared of the Free Trade party's insinuations. His good influence over these wild Malays, ruffianly Chinamen, head-hunting Dyaks, and piratical Arabs seems to be extraordinary.

[He died in England in 1868, leaving his country to his nephew, Charles Johnson.]

April 24th.—Sir Colin Campbell, with about 20,000 men and 180 guns, captured on March 23rd the city of Lucknow held by about 125,000 mutineers, whose defeat clears Oudh at last.

I again went to a party at Lady Palmerston's.

April 26th.—Lord Bath¹ is to take the Garter to the King of Portugal, which seems curious, as his Lordship's only claim to distinction is his taste for wine.

April 28th.—Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell have made up their quarrel.

Rumour goes that the Derby Government will soon be out, Palmerston will become an English Peer and lead the House of Lords, while Johnny Russell will do so for the Commons.

May 5th.—The Queen's Drawing Room, to which I went to-day.

May 8th.—Lord Canning's Proclamation of March 3rd about Oudh has caused much excitement, as he has been censured by Government on account of it. He therein proclaimed that the

¹ 4th Marquess.

whole of the territory of Oudh, with a small exception, was forfeited to the Crown, but life was secured to all landowners who surrendered at once provided they had not been actively concerned in the rebellion. Before this was published it appeared to many officials to be too sweeping, and eventually an addition was made giving liberal indulgence to those who would at once come forward to help the Government.

It appears a copy of the *original* Proclamation was sent home, and owing to change of Ministry came to Lord Ellenborough, President of the India Board, whilst a private letter containing the addition was sent to Mr. Vernon Smith, late President of the Board, who did not show it to Lord Ellenborough. The latter wrote a severe reprimand to Lord Canning, which was published, and then the whole thing came out. Votes of censure in both Houses are to be moved in consequence.

Sir Hugh Rose has had a most successful but arduous campaign in Rohilcund. He started from Bombay in January for the Central Provinces, and on February 3rd relieved Saugor, which had been besieged for eight months. Then he laid siege to Jhansi in March, but after eighteen days he found Tantia Topi was coming down on him, so he moved out and defeated him on April 1st. Jhansi was stormed on April 5th, but the Ranee had escaped.

May 11th.—Lord Ellenborough¹ announced his resignation in the House of Lords.

¹ 1st Earl.

May 14th.—On the vote of censure in the Lords the Government had a majority of nine.

May 19th.—The vote of censure in the Commons to-day collapsed by Mr. Cardwell withdrawing his motion owing to Ellenborough's resignation. The fact is neither side wants a dissolution, and Lord Derby threatens to dissolve if beaten.

May 22nd.—To-night I went to the new Covent Garden Opera House, built to replace the one burned down two years ago. It is a beautiful house but still very damp.

June 5th.—Went to the Opera to hear Mario and Bosio sing in "Figaro."

June 12th.—The King of Naples has agreed to release Park, who had been imprisoned at Palermo, to pay £3,000 compensation for the two men, and to surrender the *Cagliari* and its crew to us, who will hand them back to Sardinia.

June 17th.—Drove down to the flower show at the Crystal Palace, which was very good.

June 19th.—I went again to the Opera to hear "Fra Diavolo." The Queen, the Prince Consort, and the King of the Belgians were there.

July 14th.—The Brunnows gave a ball to-night at the Russian Embassy, to which I went. It was appallingly hot.

July 26th.—The Bill for admitting Jews to Parliament has been rejected by the Lords ten times since 1843, but this session Lord Lucan introduced a Bill whereby either House could by resolution modify the form of oath to be required from its

members. This was passed on July 1st, and to-day Baron Rothschild took his seat as Member for the City of London.

The war in China is ended at last. As soon as the rebellion in India was sufficiently quelled to enable the China expeditionary force to be reformed, hostilities were resumed. During the winter of 1856 desultory fighting had gone on, and Commissioner Yeh issued a Proclamation offering a price for the heads of "the English and French dogs," for the French had seized the opportunity to press some claims of theirs. In the spring of 1857 there was more fighting, and we were driven back by the strong works at Fatshan. In December, 1857, Canton was bombarded, and in January it was captured, together with Yeh, who was sent a prisoner to Calcutta. The English and French demands were sent to Peking, but no answer being received, the fleets went to the Pei River, took the Taku forts, and went up to Tientsin, where a peace was made last month. Ministers are to be established at Peking, more ports are to be opened, national rights defined, and Consuls to be established.

August 2nd.—Parliament was prorogued. The India Bill was passed, and Lord Canning is to be the first Viceroy.

August 10th.—My sister Caroline has gone to Berlin in waiting on the Queen.

August 18th.—I went to Aldershot to see the 2nd Life Guards, 4th Heavy Dragoons, 4th Light Dragoons, 10th and 11th Hussars, and Horse Artillery reviewed by the Duke of Cambridge. It

was a very fine sight till the rain came on, when I rode over to luncheon at the camp of the Limerick Militia. In the afternoon Sir Richard de Burgho, the colonel, had them out for a drill.

After his capture of Jhansi, Sir Hugh Rose took Calpee, but the Ranee of Jhansi having moved into Gwalior, raised that country and defeated Scindia, so Rose captured Gwalior on June 19th, and the brave lady was killed fighting at the head of her men. During June Sir Colin Campbell succeeded in restoring order in Rohilcund, meanwhile the pursuit of Tantia Topi, Nana Sahib, and Kunwah Singh goes on.

August 20th.—At the Conference held in Paris about the Danubian Principalities a compromise was come to. The fresh elections of 1858 were strongly in favour of union under a stranger. Russia and Sardinia supported this, and so did France, in spite of the agreement Louis Napoleon made at Osborne last year; but Austria and ourselves continued to oppose it. The compromise was that each should be governed by its own Hospodar, under a Central Committee.

September 12th.—A very large comet appeared this evening.

September 18th.—Frederick Bruce,¹ arrived to-day, bringing home the China Treaty.

September 20th.—One of my fellow-clerks was absent to-day, his wife having run away for the second time with the same man, namely, the noble lord referred to on April 28, 1854.

¹ Half-brother of 8th Earl of Elgin.

September 29th.—Yesterday Lord Cardigan married Adeline de Horsey.

November 18th.—Frederick Bruce is to go to Peking as Ambassador.

November 27th.—It was discovered on the 18th that the despatches of Sir Charles Young about the Ionian Islands had been stolen from the Colonial Office, and to-day Colonel Guernsey was committed for trial for their theft.

December 10th.—I went to the Princess Theatre, in the Queen's box, to see Charles Kean in "Macbeth."

December 13th.—Napier is being moved from Washington to The Hague because he is too much in favour of the Monro doctrine, and Forbes goes from Dresden to Rio de Janeiro, at the age of sixty-seven!

December 24th.—The Chinese Government objects to receiving a resident Ambassador at Peking.

December 25th.—In India the hunting of Tantia Topi in Rajputana, &c., &c., still goes on, but Nana Sahib was driven over the Ganges and into Nepaul, where his band was broken up, and he himself forced into some secret hiding-place. Kunwar Singh, after being hunted about Behar, was killed, and the jungle was at length cleared of rebels. In Hyderabad there were some small risings in June and July, 1857, but by the firmness of Major Davidson, the Resident, and the loyalty and skill of Salar Jung, the Prime Minister, the country has been kept fairly quiet. So ends this dreadful Mutiny.

1859

January 3rd.—Louis Napoleon was very rude to the Austrian Ambassador at his New Year reception, saying the relations between France and Austria were bad! This can only mean one thing, and that is—War!

January 14th.—Bruce is gazetted to-night as Ambassador to China, whither he does not wish to go, neither does Horace Rumbold,¹ his Attaché.

When Lord Elgin was returning from China last year he went to Yedo, and concluded a treaty of commerce and friendship with the Tycoon of Japan. By this instrument five ports are to be opened to British traders, with Consuls resident therein, and a Diplomatic Agency is to be established at Yedo. Prior to 1854 the Dutch had been the only people permitted to trade with this exclusive country, but in that year Commodore Perry, of the United States Navy, forced a treaty upon Japan. Mr. Rutherford Alcock goes out there as Minister, and he is a good man for the post.

January 15th.—The King of Sardinia on the 12th made a speech in which he said he could not remain insensible to the cries of suffering in so many parts of Italy.

Louis Napoleon is determined upon war with Austria, and both France and Sardinia are arming.

Having been given the Queen's box, I went to-night to the Olympic Theatre.

January 26th.—W. E. Gladstone is to be Commissioner of the Ionian Islands for a fortnight.

¹ Afterwards 7th Baronet.

We have conducted the affairs of this Republic of seven islands since 1815, but it is an absurd and costly mission. For instance, the hire of an express boat from Trieste to Corfu, with a messenger, costs seven hundred pounds!

February 3rd.—Princess Clothilde of Savoy and Prince Jerome Bonaparte were married at Turin on January 30th.

This is part of the bargain between Napoleon III and Count Cavour, which it is believed they made at Plombières or Biarritz last July, and by it Louis Napoleon agrees to free Italy from Austrian rule, and in return is to get Savoy. Whenever Louis Napoleon gets at all restive, Cavour holds him to his bargain by a judicious reference to the plots to murder him which are, or are supposed to be, concocted by the Carbonari.

To-day I was wigged by Mr. Hammond, the Under-Secretary, for the length of my draft despatches, and although I pointed out that, while he likes short drafts, the three other Secretaries insist upon long ones, which makes it difficult to frame a composition to please them all, he was not to be mollified.

February 8th.—The Emperor Napoleon III has made a most warlike speech, and the funds are in consequence going down.

February 12th.—I went to Lady Palmerston's party, where I was told that the Derby Administration has but a short time to live.

February 24th.—The Government were beaten three times last night.

February 26th.—Lord Cowley's mission to Vienna has quieted the minds and nerves of most people, but I do not think it will lead to very much in the way of peace.

March 2nd.—A few days ago the Calais boat met with an accident by which three men were drowned and the mail-bags got wet. I hear from Paris that the Chancellerie at our Embassy presented a strange spectacle after the arrival of the Foreign Office bag. There was a hat for some lady done up in a box addressed to Odo Russell at Rome and marked, "To be kept dry"! and a brand-new coat for Colonel Bruce, both completely ruined; and the room was festooned with the Prince of Wales's jerseys hanging up to dry!

March 5th.—Lord Derby's Government is losing its members very fast. Walpole and Henley resigned on January 27th, Lord Henry Lennox¹ on March 3rd (because, it is said, he told *The Times* about the scope of the Reform Bill), and to-day Lord Hardinge.²

Generally speaking, people approve of the Reform Bill, except, of course, the extreme Radicals.

March 7th.—The debate in the Lords last night about the affairs of the *Charles et Georges* was not very good for the Government. Lord Wodehouse spoke very well in making his attack, and Lord Malmesbury seemed much upset by it.

The *Charles et Georges* was a French vessel engaged in slave-trading, which was captured at

¹ Third son of 5th Duke of Richmond.

² 2nd Viscount.

Mozambique last year for having violated the municipal laws of that port. The French Government were very angry, and seemed bellicose, whereupon Portugal turned to us, as her ancient ally, for our good offices, which we gave, and the matter was amicably settled on March 1st.

March 14th.—Spain has gone to war with Morocco, and we have stopped the landing of Spanish troops by sending men-of-war to the coast. If this does not lead to a row it will be lucky, for France is egging on Spain in order to carry out Louis Napoleon's new map of Europe in which Morocco is assigned to Spain.

March 17th.—Baron Poerio, who has been imprisoned so long in Naples, and reported to have been frightfully tortured, was released a short time ago, and with some other refugees was put on board a ship for America after they had given their parole not to return to Italy. However, they forced the American captain to put into Cork, where they landed and are going to Turin. I hear that Poerio is a bad advertisement of Neapolitan cruelty, for he looks the most healthy and prosperous foreigner imaginable.

Lord Cowley returned from Vienna on 13th, not having done any good, though the Austrians agreed to all our proposals.

Rumour says there is to be a Congress at Brussels on Italian affairs.

March 23rd.—Since 1849, Sardinia has been preparing for another "go" at Austrian domination. She has made Alessandria into a first-class

fortress, and Spezia has become a large naval port and arsenal. Count Cavour looked to France for help, and fanned the Emperor's resentment against Austria. He knew also that Louis Napoleon is desperately afraid of being assassinated by the Carbonari, and egged them on to frighten the Emperor but not to kill him; moreover, the French were anxious to withdraw from Rome, where they were in the false position of bolstering up the tyrannical power of the Papacy. The two conspirators came to some arrangement at Plombières, but it has been kept very secret. As "straws show which way the wind blows," so diplomatists have observed sufficient indications to make a pretty shrewd guess as to its terms. Louis Napoleon thought he could rely upon the well-known sympathy of England with the Italian aspirations for liberty; he was on friendly terms with Russia, and the jealousy between Prussia and Austria would keep the former neutral.

When in January last Louis Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel sounded the warning by their speeches, the rest of Europe became alarmed lest Louis Napoleon should institute a campaign on the Rhine with the object of enlarging French boundaries, and not rest content with Nice and Savoy, as promised him by Cavour.

Louis Napoleon denied that he was getting ready his Army, and persuaded Lord Derby to send Cowley to Vienna as a mediator. But meanwhile he and Russia got their heads together,

and have proposed a Conference of the Five Powers, excluding Sardinia.

I doubt its sitting, but if it does, and any conclusion is come to about Italy, Louis Napoleon can claim the mandate of the Powers as his excuse for breaking his compact with Cavour, if necessary. If Austria makes any mistake, then he can proceed to support his ally, Italy.

April 1st.—The Government was beaten last night by thirty-nine on Lord John Russell's resolution against the Reform Bill. Lord Derby has had an interview with the Queen.

April 4th.—"There is to be a dissolution" was the announcement in both Houses to-day.

April 6th.—I went to the Queen's Levée, which was frightfully hot and very crowded, there being between four and five hundred presentations.

April 10th.—Austria made it a condition that Sardinia should disarm and Italian representatives be excluded from the Congress. To this Cavour objected. Next England made the suggestion of a general disarmament, to which France agreed, on condition that the Italian States should be represented on the Congress. Louis Napoleon then proposed that Austria should disarm on being guaranteed against attack from Sardinia by England and France. All this is pure waste of time, except to Louis Napoleon, who is determined upon war, and is only "playing at Congress" in order to gain time to complete his military preparations.

April 20th.—Two days ago England suggested

a general disarmament under Military Commissioners, and that Sardinia should be invited to attend the Congress but not as a Great Power. To this Sardinia agrees, but Austria says nothing, and it is believed she is about to require Sardinia to disarm.

April 24th.—Yesterday Austria sent a summons to Sardinia to disarm before May 3rd or to take the consequences of a refusal.

April 28th.—The Grand-Duke of Tuscany has refused to abdicate, or to join the Sardinians, and has left Tuscany. Victor Emmanuel has been declared Dictator of Italy.

Marshal Pélissier has been recalled to command the Army of Observation on the Rhine, and M. de Persigny succeeds him as Ambassador. About 55,000 French have landed at Genoa, and others are crossing the Alps.

April 29th.—The elections are not going well for the Derbyites, who are at their old dishonest election tricks of 1852.

May 1st.—French troops entered Turin yesterday from Genoa.

May 5th.—The Austrians crossed the Po on the 3rd. They have about 90,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 190 guns, whilst the Sardinians can only muster, with the French, 70,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 80 guns. The Austrians are apparently waiting to be attacked. As corresponding officers with the different armies, George Cadogan¹ goes to the Sardinians, Edmond Mild-

¹ Second son of 3rd Earl Cadogan.

may¹ to the Austrians, and Claremont to the French in Italy.

May 10th.—The Derbyites are in a minority of forty-three over the elections.

May 11th.—The so-called Revolution in Paris to protest against the war was very insignificant, and I hear to-day from Paris all is again quiet and normal, and that as soon as Louis Napoleon arrives at Turin there will be a big battle and the Austrians will be beaten.

May 22nd.—The Austrians were defeated at Montebello on the 20th, and lost pretty heavily, but the French had 1,200 killed and wounded.

The Austrians have 200,000 men in the field, the French 140,000, and the Sardinians 60,000, including Garibaldi's Free Corps.

We have started a new club in London called the "St. James," and many diplomats of all nationalities are joining it.

May 23rd.—King "Bomba" of Naples has died, and is succeeded by his son, Francis II.

The Paris Rothschild has, I am told, lost in every speculation he has lately embarked in, and only three months ago his son Samuel lost two million francs!

June 1st.—According to all accounts Louis Napoleon has taken with him to Italy a complete harem, including Madame di Castiglione and Cora Pearl, with whom he picnics luxuriously whilst his soldiers fight and march in the heat, and are very short of water even for the wretched wounded.

* Second son of Sir Henry Mildmay.

Victor Emmanuel lives with and roughs it like his men.

June 7th.—There was desperate fighting at Magenta on the 4th and 5th, in which the Austrians were defeated with 15,000 casualties, but the French had two Generals killed and 4,000 men killed and wounded.

From India comes the news that the hunting of Tantia Topi is over, as he was surrendered by one of his own people on April 18th.

Parliament was opened yesterday by the Queen. Lord Granville is talked of as the next Premier.

June 8th.—Louis Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan to-day.

June 11th.—The Government were beaten last night by 323 to 310 on Lord Hartington's ¹ Amendment to the Address. Lord Derby has gone to see the Queen.

June 12th.—The Queen accepted the resignation of Lord Derby, and by his advice sent for Lord Granville, as she wants neither Lord Palmerston nor Lord John Russell as Ministers. But Her Majesty will have to take them!

Lord Derby gets the Garter, and Malmesbury and Pakington the Bath.

June 13th.—Yesterday *The Times* had an account of the Queen's conversation with Lord Granville on the 11th. The Queen is naturally furious at this disclosure of a confidential talk, but undoubtedly the culprit is Granville himself.

I am told that Palmerston and Lord John

¹ Afterwards 8th Duke of Devonshire.

were both asked to serve under Granville, but while the former agreed, the latter flatly refused. Under these circumstances Granville could not form a Ministry, and Lord Palmerston has been sent for. Lord John insists upon having the Foreign Office, and Lord Clarendon will not serve with Palmerston.

June 18th.—The new Ministry kissed hands to-day at Windsor. Lord Wodehouse comes back to the Office as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

June 26th.—In a desperate battle near Solferino on the 24th the Allies defeated the Austrians, owing to the mistake made by the Emperor Francis Joseph, who brought his Army across the Mincio for the fight, instead of keeping the river in his front as an obstacle. The French had 700 officers and 12,000 men killed and wounded, the Sardinians 5,000, and the Austrians 2,000 killed and 8,000 wounded.

Our diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which have been interrupted since October, 1856, have been resumed, and Henry Elliot goes to Naples.

June 29th.—The Queen's ball to-night was a very hot function.

June 30th.—The Austrian Emperor has gone back to Vienna, where there are mutterings of discontent at the conduct of the war.

July 8th.—A mysterious armistice between Austria and France has been signed.

July 12th.—At a meeting yesterday at Villafranca between the two Emperors a peace was signed.

Austria gives up Lombardy as far as the Mincio to France, and Venice, whilst still remaining part of the Austrian Empire, is to become one of a Confederation of Italian States under the Presidency of the Pope. The Grand-Dukes are to be restored to their dominions, but not by force. The final peace is to be arranged at Zurich.

These extraordinary arrangements appear to please nobody, though Louis Napoleon of course gives Lombardy to Sardinia.

It seems that the Emperor Napoleon III was alarmed at the losses sustained by his Army through battle and sickness, at the difficulty of attacking the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, but more especially at the hostile attitude assumed by Prussia, and he appealed to England to do something in the way of mediation, which Lord Palmerston refused to undertake.

Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Bologna are at present ruled by Commissioners acting in the name of Victor Emmanuel. Count Cavour and Louis Napoleon are apparently quarrelling.

July 19th.—Louis Napoleon had a very hostile reception in Turin on his way back to France. The people are naturally disgusted at the terms of the peace, and the Emperor was so hissed and hooted at by a furious mob that Victor Emmanuel had to smuggle him out of the town.

July 30th.—To-night I went to the Opera to hear "Dinorah," which is very good but too long. Madame Cavallo sang very well, and her voice rather puts me in mind of Jenny Lind.

August 9th.—In 1854, Edward Hertslet joined me in editing the “Foreign Office List,” which in March 1855, was made the peg upon which the *Daily News* hung a series of articles most abusive of our Consuls and their consular work.

Our book grew steadily in favour, and likewise in bulk as improvements were made in it. Odo Russell wrote to me in July of last year from Washington : “The changes in diplomacy are really difficult to follow nowadays, and we should be completely at sea were it not for the ‘F. O. List.’ I hope a new edition is in progress. I shall be obliged to increase the number of my subscriptions, for I find that Foreign Legations are most anxious and grateful for copies, so that I give all mine away.”

Notwithstanding the increase of popularity, the book was not at all remunerative to us, and in 1856 we got a grant to recoup us for the actual loss incurred in printing it. Last year we asked if we could not get something for the time spent out of hours in keeping it up to date, but Lord Malmesbury refused us, saying it was better for us to remain as we were, namely, in a position where we could not be blamed if “an unofficial publication is not absolutely faultless.”

Now Lord John Russell has just sanctioned a grant of thirty pounds a year towards its expenses on the distinct understanding that this grant “is not intended to be construed as an official recognition of the work as a publication authorized by the Foreign Office. The work will remain as it

has hitherto been, an entirely unofficial publication."

August 16th.—I went to Shorncliffe to witness a sham fight representing the resistance to a landing at Sandgate.

September 12th.—We are in for another war with China. Bruce and the French Ambassador had to go to Peking to exchange ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858, although the clause in it agreeing there should be a resident ambassador at Peking had been waived and Shanghai had been substituted. When they got to the mouth of the Pei River with a fleet of French and English gunboats under Admiral Hope, they found the Taku forts had been reconstructed and a boom placed across the river. The Chinese offered a landing at Peh-tang, farther north, but the Ambassadors refused this, and an attempt was made to force a passage. Several gunboats were sunk, the landing parties were hampered by the mud, and the heavy fire forced them to fall back with heavy loss, though they carried off all the wounded.

September 15th.—I have been moved to be second clerk in the Slave Trade Department, which is the least interesting of any. I have been in the Consular Department now for eighteen months, and soon after joining it I made some representations as to the system of carrying out the work. I was told "to make it my duty to clean out the Augean stables," and I was given carte blanche to do what I liked for its improvement.

In the fresh elections in Moldavia and Wallachia under the Convention of August 19, 1858, each Principality has elected Colonel Couza, who thus becomes Hospodar of the Moldo-Wallachian United Principalities.

October 12th.—The Treaty of Peace between Austria, Sardinia, and France has been signed at Zurich.

October 28th.—The horrible wreck of the steamship *Royal Charter* on the coast of Anglesea has shocked every one.

October 30th.—I travelled down to Wales to-day to stay with the Emlyns for three weeks' shooting.

December 1st.—To-night I went to the Olympic Theatre, having been given the Queen's box.

December 9th.—I was at the Exeter Hall to hear the singing of "The Messiah," which was very fine.

There is to be a Congress at Paris of the Five Powers, and Lord Wodehouse will represent England.

December 27th.—There are now grave doubts whether the Congress will take place.

CHAPTER VII

1860-1864

The cession of Savoy to France—The Chinese War, 1860—Lady Palmerston's opinion of Lord John Russell—Gladstone's Budget of 1860—Garibaldi frees Sicily and Naples—The Volunteer Movement—The Paper Duty quarrel between the Lords and the Commons—The Defence Bill—The neglect of our soldiers' graves in the Crimea—I meet with a severe accident—The American Civil War—The affair of the *Trent*—The death of the Prince Consort—The Abyssinian difficulty—The French invasion of Mexico—The distress amongst the cotton-mill workers—The Polish insurrection—The crown of Greece offered to Prince Alfred—The marriage of the Prince of Wales—I resign from the Foreign Office—The Danish War—The war with Japan—The end of the *Alabama*.

1860

January 14th.—It seems now that a Central Italy is to be acknowledged by the Powers, and this does away with the provisions of the Villafranca Treaty to a large extent, and obviates the necessity for the assembly of a Congress.

January 24th.—I went to Charles Bayley's room in the Council Office to see the Royal Procession pass on its way to the opening of Parliament.

January 30th.—In June, 1856, the United States made a great fuss, saying that our claim to the

protectorship of the Mosquito Indians, and to establish a colony in the islands in the Bay of Honduras, was an infringement of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850.

This question has at length been settled, partly last November, and partly only just now, by the making of two agreements between England and Honduras and Nicaragua, whereby we withdraw our claims upon payment of compensation to the Mosquitos, and the Bay Islands are ceded to Honduras, which State contracts to preserve the rights and privileges of the English in the island.

February 4th.—I went to the British Institution to see the pictures, some of which are very good.

February 11th.—This evening I went to Lady Palmerston's party.

Louis Napoleon has decided to annex Nice and Savoy, and since part of his new territory is in Switzerland, people are asking where he is going to stop? Is he going to rectify the Rhine frontier, and will he thereafter go on to Belgium?

February 15th.—I went to see some French theatricals at the Turkish Embassy.

February 29th.—To-night Lady Palmerston gave a party, where I heard that the Government are expected to carry their Budget.

Louis Napoleon has been lying about the terms of the agreement between France and Sardinia concerning the cession of Nice and Savoy. Owing to our having objected to the restoration by force of the Grand-Dukes, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Lombardy are now under Victor Emmanuel, and

Louis Napoleon says we have thus established a pushing new kingdom upon his flank, wherefore the new territory is necessary for his safety. His view is sound policy, even though the morality of it is indifferent. The Savoyards in any case would, except for a small minority, be in favour of coming under French rule.

Louis Napoleon made these further proposals to Cavour about Italy, namely, that Tuscany should be made independent, Romagna should be placed under the Pope, while Modena and Parma should be annexed to Sardinia. Failing consent to these propositions, the French troops would be withdrawn from Rome, and the Italians left to work out their own salvation. Cavour refused these conditions.

March 1st.—I went to Lady Seymour's dance to-night.

March 26th.—Lord John Russell made a brave speech concerning Louis Napoleon's conduct about Savoy, in which he hinted that we could not throw away the friendship of the rest of Europe to please France.

Some people say it is equivalent to a declaration of war. However, as Louis Napoleon has been pressing for an alliance, offensive and defensive, as a complement of the Commercial Treaty just made, probably he will understand the speech as a warning, and will swallow all of Russell's abuse.

March 30th.—M. de Persigny, the French Ambassador, listened to Lord John's speech, and afterwards, livid with rage, said to some one, "Vous voulez la guerre et vous l'aurez!"

Another story on the same subject is that Lady Palmerston said she had always thought Lord John was a fool, but now she has no doubt of it!

Lord Stanley of Alderley gets the Post Office in place of Lord Elgin, who goes to China.

April 1st.—Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston have had a quarrel, because the latter has been in secret correspondence with Louis Napoleon.

In revenge for the way in which we have thwarted his plans, the Emperor has allowed people to see this correspondence.

May 4th.—I drove down to the Crystal Palace to hear the "Elijah" sung.

May 12th.—To-night I dined at Devonshire House, where there was a large party.

May 18th.—Celebration of the Queen's birthday, and I went to the Drawing Room.

Garibaldi made a successful landing in Sicily on 14th with about 1,000 Volunteers. It is said that our fleet exercised a very benevolent neutrality during his landing. I expect Cavour has a hand in this secretly.

The government of King Francis II is as bad or rather worse than that of King "Bomba," and he is so pig-headed he will listen to advice from nobody. Sicily has been in a state of insurrection for some time, and Garibaldi will be very troublesome.

The King has refused to come to terms with Sardinia, and rejects any idea of two Kingdoms of North and South Italy.

May 21st.—The Lords have rejected the Bill for the abolition of the Paper Duty by eighty-nine.

This will cause friction with the Commons, who sent the Bill up to them.

This Bill is part of Gladstone's budgetary scheme, and it has met with great opposition in both Houses. The second reading in the Commons was passed by over fifty and the third reading by only nine. People say that as Gladstone loses so much revenue by the Commercial Treaty and other remissions, and has to provide so much for the defence of the country, he ought not to part with such an excellent and steady source of revenue as the Paper Duty.

The Commercial Treaty was put in hand last year by Mr. Cobden, and was signed during the winter recess. The Emperor Napoleon III had been in favour of Free Trade, whilst the French were not; hence he could only go as far in his concessions as the state of public opinion in France would allow him. It was agreed, therefore, that for every concession by France a corresponding reduction would be made by England. In the treaty France contracted to reduce the duty on every article of English manufacture so that it shall not in any one case exceed 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, and England to take off all duty on such articles, with two or three exceptions. The English duty on brandy is lowered from 15s. to 8s. 2d. per gallon, and on wine largely reduced. On February 10th, when Gladstone introduced his Budget he pointed out there would now be only 48 dutiable articles, whereas in 1845 there were 1,163. Indirect taxation to the amount of four millions would thus be avoided, and he anticipated

by next year a large increase of trade and revenue under the new tariff, which for the present, however, would cause a loss.

Altogether he has to meet a deficit of about twelve millions!

June 1st.—There are dissensions in the Cabinet. Lord John says he will resign if the Reform Bill, which he brought in on March 1st, is hung up, and Gladstone will do the same if the Lords are not censured for throwing out the Paper Duty Bill.

June 12th.—Garibaldi has practically freed Sicily by capturing Palermo. Francis II now offers to grant a constitution and enter into an alliance with Sardinia.

Lord John, finding there is so much opposition to the Reform Bill, withdrew it yesterday.

June 22nd.—The Queen gave a ball at the Palace, to which I went.

June 23rd.—The Queen reviewed 23,000 Volunteers in Hyde Park to-day. They looked very well until they began to move, but then ——!

The Volunteer Movement commenced in May last year, caused by distrust of the intentions of Louis Napoleon in regard to Europe and fears lest he should invade us, knowing how defenceless we were and are. There are now about 200,000 riflemen and artillerymen, of whom 20,000 in London, and they say 35,000 are fit to take the field.

There is plenty of fine material amongst them for making good soldiers, but the training requisite is impossible of attainment.

June 24th.—Last night Lord Derby said in his

speech: "If in six months we could raise 130,000 Volunteers, there is no doubt, if imminent danger occurred, we could raise three times as many." I have no doubt of it either, but I do not believe in the efficacy of untrained mobs! The fierceness of a flock of sheep is not increased by trebling its numbers, and I have great faith in an ounce of practice being worth a ton of theory.

June 26th.—I went to Madame Van der Weyer's ball.

July 2nd.—The Queen to-day at Wimbledon opened a new rifle-range for the National Rifle Association, formed to encourage rifle practice in the country.

July 5th.—I went to a ball at Almack's.

July 6th.—Palmerston has introduced a resolution containing these clauses: 1st, the assertion of the right of the Commons to levy taxes, make grants, &c.; 2nd, that although the Lords occasionally did reject such Bills, yet the Commons were very jealous of their so doing; and 3rd, that the Commons had it in their power so to remit taxes as to preserve its rights. This obviates the difficulty of a conflict with the Lords.

July 16th.—At last I have returned to a political department, for I have been moved from the Slave Trade Department to be second in the German, under John Bidwell, whereat I am well pleased. It is 11½ years since I left it.

July 21st.—I went to Lady Palmerston's party.

July 24th.—Lord Palmerston last night brought in a Bill to provide for the defence of the country.

He made a great speech, clearly defining France as the Power from which we anticipated danger.

The Army Estimates last year were $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions, this year 14 millions ; and the Navy 9 millions last year and 12 this. For this we get 240,000 men, whilst France has 600,000 ; moreover the three navies of France, Russia, and England are equal, which is a serious state of affairs for us.

Nine millions more are asked for to provide for the defence of arsenals, dockyards, &c., and are to be spread over four years.

August 3rd.—Mr. Lindsay's amendment against permanent fortifications was beaten by 268 to 39, and Palmerston's Defence Bill was passed.

August 5th.—With Francis Alston I went to the Crystal Palace, having got an order to view from Sir Joseph Paxton. Being Sunday the place was empty, and it was a curious feeling to be in that immense building and the gardens all by our two selves.

August 7th.—The Paper Duty resolution was passed last night by thirty-three, but the Bill is to be dropped for this year. This postpones the flood of cheap newspapers, &c., for a year, which is a blessing in some ways.

August 28th.—Parliament was prorogued to-day.

September 6th.—Garibaldi has been successful in his declared intention of invading Naples. Cavour has sent Sardinian troops to "restore order" in Rome, alleging that the Pope has been raising an army of mercenaries under General Lamoricière. Louis Napoleon pretends to be very angry at this, and is

recalling his Minister from Turin, but I feel sure he knew all about this coup of Cavour's, if he did not actually instigate it.

I am told that when the treaty ceding Savoy and Nice to France was signed in January, 1858, Cavour said to Talleyrand, "Maintenant nous sommes des complices."

The Neapolitan fleet and troops have sided with Garibaldi, and the forts have been given up to him. The ships he has handed over to the Sardinians. The King has retired to Gaeta with such faithful troops as he possesses.

September 8th.—Concerning the upkeep of the graves in the Crimea of our sailors and soldiers, for which purpose a Russian officer has been appointed, Clipperton, our Consul at Theodosia, sends me some extracts from a letter from Colonel Gowan, the American, who has done so much to keep the Crimean graves a little in order. "Charles Grenville-Murray [Consul-General at Odessa, July 24, 1858] has appointed an old Russian booby, over sixty years old, as guardian of the British cemeteries, who cannot speak one word of any language but Russian. It is a great mistake to appoint a Russian, for Englishmen could easily have been obtained, and of course they would take an active interest in looking after the graves of their lamented but gallant countrymen. What possible use this Russian is I do not know, unless the Government wish to throw away £100 a year, for he can do no good by any possible means, for he neither cares nor intends to do anything. Moreover, would it not have been

more judicious to have appointed the £100 a year in repairing the enclosures than in supporting a lazy Russian?"

Colonel Gowan is quite right, and it is a national duty to see that the graves of our fallen heroes are kept decently in order. Nevertheless, if Ministers could not look after them when alive and fighting, it is idle to expect them to do so when dead and buried!

September 22nd.—General Lamoricière has been defeated by the Sardinians, and retired to Ancona. The King of Naples has a large force at Gaeta. Sicily is unsettled, and the intentions of Garibaldi and Mazzini are doubtful.

September 23rd.—Amongst the prophecies for this month in "Old Moore's Almanac" I find the following: "A great change will probably have taken place in the position of the Pope. I foresee that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope must pass away for ever." The States of the Church have now passed into the hands of Victor Emmanuel.

October 20th.—Victor Emmanuel has gone to Neapolitan territory to adjust matters.

October 27th.—I went to the Adelphi, in the Queen's box, to see "Colleen Bawn," which was very good.

October 28th.—Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi met at Teano on the 26th. The latter wished to be appointed Dictator of Naples, but has given up the idea now.

General Lamoricière surrendered when the Sardinian fleet appeared off Ancona.

Louis Napoleon has sent more troops to Rome, and the French fleet is at Gaeta. Cavour has said French armed assistance will never be asked for again; there is no intention of ceding Sardinia to France, and Garibaldi is not to go to Venetia. Meanwhile all the Powers except England are protesting against Cavour's action, and the Pope is firing off excommunications by the bushel!

Cavour proposes to his Parliament to annex Southern and Central Italy, leaving out the city of Rome and Venetia for future action.

November 6th.—Lord John Russell is in trouble over his despatches to Turin. He wrote one to Hudson approving of Austria keeping Venice, and apparently Cavour got this published in order to annoy, and now Lord John has written another, dated October 27th, which is also published, approving of Cavour's attack on the Papal States and Naples.

November 9th.—I went to Charles Bayley's rooms at the Council Office to view the Lord Mayor's Procession. Although I have lived in London for more than forty years I have never seen it before, and it amused and interested me a great deal.

November 11th.—The Neapolitans have elected Victor Emmanuel as King, and Naples was annexed to Sardinia on the 8th.

On the 9th Garibaldi left Naples for the island of Caprera.

November 12th.—Having three weeks' leave, I went to The Grove, East Retford, to stay with the Granville Harcourt Vernons, and from there to

Lord and Lady George Cavendish at Hardwicke Hall, where I got some very good shooting.

November 17th.—The Empress Eugénie is in London, and is going to visit the Queen at Osborne. There is much curiosity as to the reason for her coming; some say there is a political motive, others that it is health, but others again, who profess to know, say that she cannot stand Louis Napoleon's everlasting infidelities, and has come to ask the advice of our Queen.

December 8th.—Peace with China was signed on October 24th.

In consequence of the defeat of the Allies at Taku last year, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were again sent out as Plenipotentiaries, and a large force under Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban was assembled at Talienwan Bay. The conditions demanded were fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty of Tientsin, also an apology, restoration of any captured war material, admission of Western Ambassadors to Peking, and an indemnity of four million taels. These being absolutely refused, the combined forces in August landed at Pehtang, north of Tientsin, captured the Taku forts after severe fighting, and also Tientsin, whence they advanced upon Peking. The Chinese agreed to treat for peace at Tungchou on the Pei River, east of the capital, but treacherously captured Loch, Parkes, Brabazon, Anderson, de Norman, and their escort. On September 10th Sir Hope Grant defeated the Chinese at Tungchou and demanded the return of the prisoners. Failing to

get any satisfaction from Prince Kung, the Emperor's uncle, the Allied Army advanced on October 6th, defeated the Chinese at Palichiao, but finding the walls of Peking too strong, they passed round by the north to the Summer Palace. The Chinese surrendered the two surviving prisoners, Parkes¹ and Loch,² two days afterwards, but as the Chinese Government would not give in, the Allies made preparations to bombard and assault the city. On the morning the bombardment was to begin Prince Kung gave way, the Emperor and his Court having fled to Jehol in Mongolia during the night. When the Allies entered the city the horrible circumstances of the murder of other prisoners became known, and as they had been tortured in the Summer Palace by the Emperor's orders, Lord Elgin ordered its destruction. It was accordingly looted and burned. The Chinese now gave way completely, and sued for peace. The terms agreed upon were: The previous indemnity to be doubled and the rest of the Treaty of Tientsin to be complied with; an apology was made for blocking the river; Tientsin was made an open port and Kowloon, a small strip of land opposite Hong-Kong, was ceded to us.

December 10th.—Palmerston wishes the Italian fleet to bombard Gaeta, but the French fleet is there to stop its doing so.

1861

February 9th.—I went to Lady Palmerston's party.

¹ Sir Harry Parkes. ² Sir Henry, created Baron Loch, 1895.

February 12th.—Having the Queen's box at Covent Garden, I took the Hamilton Seymours there.

February 16th.—Lady Palmerston's second party, to which I went.

February 20th.—Victor Emmanuel has assumed the title of King of Italy. He has yet to recover Venetia, but has curbed the temporal power of the Pope completely. Gaeta surrendered on 13th, and the Neapolitan King and Court embarked on a French vessel, the withdrawal of the French fleet being the cause of the surrender.

On the 18th the first Italian Parliament assembled at Turin.

February 22nd.—I went to Exeter Hall to hear "The Creation," which was very finely sung.

March 25th.—The Duchess of Kent, the Queen's mother, was buried to-day in St. George's Chapel, having died at Frogmore on the 16th. The Queen is going to build a mausoleum at Frogmore, in which the body of the Duchess will be placed.

April 1st.—I went to Hyde Park to see the Volunteers start for the Wimbledon Review. Amongst the spectators sheltering under the trees I came across the Duke of Cambridge on foot and in a cloak, and he kindly shared his umbrella with me, as it was raining hard.

April 13th.—Lady Palmerston gave a party, to which I went.

April 16th.—As I was riding to the Foreign Office this morning my pony, which I bought a fortnight ago, picked up a sharp piece of macadam

in Whitehall and fell down, nearly killing me, as the base of my skull was fractured.

May 1st.—I was insensible for several days after my accident, and am still very weak. There were many kind inquirers as to my progress, and the Queen honoured me by sending twice a day to ask how I was.

August 5th.—Since my accident I have not, until now, been well enough to record any passing events. I have sick-leave from the Foreign Office, and as the Office is to be pulled down and rebuilt, the archives are in a state of migration to 7 and 8, Whitehall Gardens, wherefore I am not very sorry to miss the flitting.

Owing to the reconstruction of the Cabinet caused by the death of Lord Herbert¹ on August 2nd, Layard becomes Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in place of Wodehouse, who resigned when Lord John Russell became Earl Russell the other day, as both Secretaries could not be in the House of Lords. The Embassy at Constantinople has been offered to, and refused by, Wodehouse.

In Gladstone's Budget speech for this year, he stated he had a surplus of two millions, and proposed to take off the duty on paper, but to avoid any chance of fresh trouble with the Lords all the financial proposals are put into one Bill, which the Lords must take as a whole. The abolition of the Paper Duty was passed on May 31th. Under the new Free Trade Tariff, exports to France have

¹ Sidney, created Baron Herbert of Lea, 1861.

increased from two and three-quarters to seven millions in value.

The great excitement is the outbreak of the American Civil War, which has been threatening for a long time. The two chief causes are slavery and the protective tariff. The Southern States only produce raw material, such as cotton and tobacco, whereas the Northern produce manufactured articles. When the Washington Government put heavy duties upon imported goods, the Southern States had to pay more for what they imported, and relatively got less for their raw produce, and having no manufactures to fall back upon, they have been hard hit. But the older difficulty is slavery, which exists more or less in fifteen States, and the Abolitionists have been working for thirty years to get it done away with.

Whenever a new State came into the Union there occurred the same struggle between the advocates of Abolition and of Slavery. The "Missouri Compromise" making 36° 30' Latitude North the dividing line, failed owing to the Westward movement of civilization. The question of abolition was a very difficult one, because to have compensated the slave-owners, even on the same unjust terms as England gave to hers, would have cost the Union four hundred million pounds, and then would have come the difficulty of providing hired labour for the plantations. The free black is not a good labourer, and the horrors committed in the negro Republic of Hayti frightened those who were accustomed to deal with blacks. Many of the Southern planters

detested slavery, and many others were quite prepared to see it gradually done away with, but they objected to the frantic denunciations of the wilder Abolitionists forming the extreme "Black man and Brother" party, and to the unjust aspersions cast upon them by such hysterical publications as "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Above all, they objected to being dictated to in the management of State internal affairs by the Northerners, whom they regarded as bent upon the ruin of the South.

When Kansas came into the Union in August, 1855, the dispute between the parties became so acute that civil war was only just prevented. However, in 1856 the election of Buchanan to be Union President and the defeat of Fremont, the Abolitionist, gave victory to the South for a time; but in 1860 the victory of Lincoln, an Abolitionist, restarted the agitation. South Carolina said she would not submit to Northern domination, and seceded from the Union. The Separatists said that as each State was a Sovereign State within itself, it had a perfect right to break away. The other side said the contract made on entering the Union was for ever. However, by May this year eleven States had seceded and formed themselves into a Confederation under Jefferson Davis.

On April 12th the Confederates seized Fort Sumter with its stores, and the Northerners thereupon destroyed Norfolk Dockyard to prevent it falling into Southern hands. On May 13th President Lincoln called out 75,000 Militia, and on

14th Lord Palmerston proclaimed our neutrality. The Federals have invaded the South, and are marching upon Richmond.

Affairs seem very bad in Naples, where law and order appear to be non-existent.

August 5th.—The Federals have been severely defeated at Manassas Gap, in Virginia, with a loss of 1,600 killed and wounded, 1,500 prisoners, and 25 guns, the victors suffering 1,950 casualties. Washington, which is unfortified, now appears to lie at the mercy of the Confederates, if the state of their organization will permit of their marching upon it, which is more than doubtful.

Parliament was prorogued to-day.

September 5th.—I went to Latimer to stay with the Cheshams for a few days.

September 11th.—I went over to Paris for three months.

November 29th.—The Northerners have committed a breach of the law of nations and have laid themselves open to a sharp retort from us. The Confederates, desirous of still further enlisting sympathy in France and England, despatched Messrs. Slidell and Mason, with two secretaries, to Europe. They ran the blockade from Charleston to Havana, and there embarked on our Royal Mail Steamer *Trent* on November 7th. This vessel was boarded and searched by the Federal warship *San Jacinto* on the 8th, and the four Confederates were taken away as prisoners to New York. England is naturally and rightly furious at this outrage. Apart from this, Ministers and the upper classes are

in favour of the South, while the Queen and the lower orders favour the North.

December 3rd.—I hear Lord Palmerston wrote a violent despatch to go to Washington, which the Queen and Prince Albert modified. France is warmly backing us up, while Russia, Austria, and Prussia are most sympathetic.

December 6th.—We have given the Federals seven days in which to release the Commissioners, and, failing compliance, Lord Lyons,¹ our Ambassador, is to leave Washington. Troops, including two battalions of Guards, are going to Canada, as a precautionary measure.

December 15th.—H.R.H. Prince Albert died last night at 11 p.m.

At Kearsney Abbey, near Dover, where I am staying, the sad news was announced to us at 3 p.m. to-day by the firing of the minute guns from the Castle.

December 17th.—The Duke of Cambridge, in plain clothes, privately inspected, at Wellington Barracks, on the 15th, the 1st Grenadiers and 2nd Scots Fusilier Guards, who are ordered to embark for Canada on the 19th.

December 18th.—My father and sister were at Windsor Castle yesterday "writing their names on the Queen," and learned from the Household that Her Majesty has borne her loss with wonderful composure and resolution, expressing to those to whom she had necessarily been obliged to speak her determination to control her own feelings in

¹ 1st and last Viscount.

order that she may be able to fulfil the responsibility which rests on her for the interests of the nation and her children.

The Queen goes to-day to Osborne, where the King of the Belgians and her half-sister, Princess Hohenlohe, are expected to meet her.

Prince Albert was the Queen's guiding star in everything; in fact until now she has never had to run alone. Melbourne was her adviser from the first upon every subject, public and private, until her marriage, since when the Prince controlled by his advice her every action.

December 19th.—The colonelcies of the Grenadier Guards and of the Rifle Brigade will go to the Duke of Cambridge, as the Prince of Wales is not of age.

The news from America still looks very ugly, but many people think that the Northerners, after having given vent to a great deal of bluster, will, by advice of the President or through coming more to their senses, acknowledge the error of their ways and avoid a war with us.

December 23rd.—The Prince Consort was buried in St. George's Chapel to-day, but later on he is to be removed to the mausoleum which is to be built at Frogmore.

December 30th.—The American news is bad, for the Northerners are still disinclined to give way.

December 31st.—A friend of mine, Mr. Cameron, has been sent out to Abyssinia as Consul, and several missionaries of divers sects are gone or going there also. This country, with which we

have had dealings for some time past, is very much disturbed. Rasuli, the Grand Vizier, made himself master of the country, assisted by two Englishmen, John Bell and Walter Plowden, and in 1850, through the instrumentality of Plowden, who was appointed our Consul for the purpose, we made a treaty with Abyssinia, securing the suppression of the slave trade and the prevention of the inroads of the Turks from Nubia. Not long ago another Chief, named Theodore, having defeated Rasuli, became Emperor. Bell and Plowden, having entered into Theodore's service, were both killed this year in repressing some insurrection. The religion of this country is Coptic Christianity, but there have found their way into Abyssinia some Roman Catholic missionaries who are squabbling with the Coptic priests.

[After Mr. Cameron's arrival in Abyssinia the Emperor Theodore wrote a letter to the Queen, to which no answer was sent. This caused Theodore much annoyance, and he vented it upon Cameron (whom, moreover, he suspected of intriguing with the Turks) by imprisoning him in Magdala.

A Diplomatic Mission, under Messrs. Prideaux and Rassam, was sent to demand Cameron's release, but they also were imprisoned, and this led to the war of 1867.]

1862

January 8th.—The Northerners have wisely decided to give up the Confederate Commissioners, but they are very sulky about it.

January 12th.—Earl Russell is to have the Garter.

January 30th.—Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their secretaries, arrived yesterday at Southampton.

February 5th.—The Confederates are very badly off for money, and I hear that Mr. Mason says they will not be able to go on much longer even by issuing paper money.

Mr. Slidell has gone to Paris to interview the Emperor Napoleon.

February 6th.—The Prince of Wales has left England for a tour in the Holy Land.

March 10th.—I had a ride to-day for the first time since my accident, and feel all the better for it.

April 5th.—The Confederates having been unable to advance upon Washington last August, the capital is now heavily fortified, and I am told that on March 20th the Federals had 240,000 men under arms.

May 29th.—The Federals captured New Orleans at the end of April, and General Butler, who commands there, has, it is said, given orders that any woman, whoever she may be, who in any way exhibits feelings unfriendly to the Federals, is to be treated with the same indignity as a common woman of the town would be!

The Confederate States have been acknowledged by us to be belligerent as regards blockade-runners, which cannot, therefore, be treated as pirates. Neither of the belligerents may bring prizes into British ports.

June 13th.—Earl Russell has given me leave for twelve months, in which to recover my health, for after working for three days at the Office I find I am not yet fit for duty.

June 15th.—The French are doing badly in Mexico. Their communications with Vera Cruz have been cut, and having been defeated at Puebla, they are forced to retire to the coast. Large reinforcements are being sent out from France.

We are fortunate to have escaped from this imbroglio, for last year we started in with France and Spain to “restore order” in Mexico, as its Government would not settle just claims for money due. We gave up the business when we found that Louis Napoleon aspires to establish there a French Empire. He has been led by his agents out there and by the Press in France into believing that a Roman Catholic Empire would be acceptable to the people of the Isthmus, a doubtful question over which the States of Guatemala and Nicaragua have been at war with the States of Salvador and Honduras for two years.

June 27th.—I went to the Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace.

July 1st.—The Duke of Devonshire gave a party at Devonshire House, to which I went.

July 2nd.—General “Stonewall” Jackson has driven General Bankes and the Federals back to the north with heavy losses, after defeating them at Winchester on May 25th, at Cross Keys on June 8th, and Port Republic on June 9th.

July 25th.—British trade and revenue have increased, as is shown by the Budget figures—the revenue by two millions, whilst the export of paper has gone up by 1,500 tons. But the stoppage of the supply of raw cotton is causing dreadful distress in Lancashire. The blockade of Confederate ports by the Federal ships has prevented any but small quantities brought by blockade-runners from arriving at the cotton mills, which consequently have had to shut down, and thousands of mill-hands are out of work. Efforts to get cotton from India, Egypt, and the West Coast of Africa are being made, but the result is not very encouraging, because not only does it take time to establish a new channel of trade, but the length of the fibre being different, new machinery to deal with it is required, and this the majority of manufacturers do not care about providing, for they hope day by day the war will end. Parliament has just sanctioned the levy of a rate in aid in the districts affected by the famine.

In March, General McClellan transferred 112,000 Federal troops from Washington to the mouth of the James River, and on May 16th was only sixteen miles east of Richmond, whilst McDowell had 40,000 more at Fredericksburg, sixty miles to the north. McClellan was attacked by Lee and Jackson, and after two bloody battles, at Gaines Mill on June 27th and Malvern Hill on July 2nd (in the latter the Confederates being defeated), he made good his retreat to a strong position at Harrison's Landing, where the Northern gunboats could assist

him with their fire. Up to July 1st during McClellan's retirement the Federals lost 16,000 men, 52 guns, and 35,000 rifles, and the Confederates had 20,000 casualties.

August 20th.—There is some peculiar business going on in Italy, for Garibaldi is in Sicily trying to raise a force with which to attack Rome, and people say that this is another "Cavour coup," although King Victor Emmanuel has publicly disowned Garibaldi, and is sending a large force to Sicily to restrain him.

August 28th.—Garibaldi and his party have landed in Calabria.

August 31st.—The Italian patriots have been defeated at Aspromonte, near Reggio, and Garibaldi is wounded and a prisoner in the hands of the Sardinian troops.

September 17th.—General Pope's Federal Army, 80,000 strong, has been driven by Jackson back upon Washington, after battles at Cedar Run on August 9th and Manassas Junction on August 30th. Pope has lost 13,500 men killed and wounded, 7,000 prisoners, 20,000 rifles, and 30 guns.

October 5th.—Two more great battles in America have taken place. On September 15th Jackson, at Harper's Ferry, defeated the Federals, who lost 12,500 killed and wounded, 13,000 prisoners, and 73 guns. He then joined Lee at Sharpsburg, in Maryland, and assisted in inflicting another defeat upon the Federals on the 17th. The Confederates had 9,500 killed and wounded, and their opponents 12,400. After this last battle both sides were

equally exhausted, and although the road to Washington, forty-five miles distant, lay open to Lee, he was compelled to fall back across the Potomac.

President Lincoln, in the United States Constitution, has cancelled the existing clause forbidding interference with the domestic institutions of the various States, and substituted a declaration that slavery shall no longer exist in any State. Thus the Northerners, who have hitherto been fighting to maintain their view of the indissolubility of Union, will now be fighting on behalf of the negro. This will attract numerous recruits who have hitherto held back from enlisting because they were not sufficiently interested in the question of Union, but, being ardent Abolitionists, will now come forward eager to overthrow slavery.

October 11th.—I hear a rumour that the Prince of Wales, who four months ago came back from his tour, is going to marry Princess Alexandra of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glückstein, whose father is heir to the throne of Denmark. Rather a rickety throne, according to the present outlook!

November 15th.—The French wish us to join them in mediating in the American Civil War, in order to get a truce for six months, during which time Louis Napoleon hopes the differences would be adjusted. We have refused on the ground that at the present stage neither combatant would hear of such a thing.

November 20th.—Lord Russell's despatch to Denmark is feeble, meddlesome, and irritating, as

it refers to internal affairs, which are no concern of ours.

November 23rd.—General McClellan has been dismissed from the command of the Northern Army, and is succeeded by General Burnside.

The Greeks have revolted, driven out their King Otho (of Bavaria), and are offering the Crown to our Prince Alfred. The Queen is in favour of his accepting it, but in that case the question of the succession to Saxe-Coburg-Gotha will be raised.

December 8th.—We have decided to give up the Ionian Islands to Greece, unless the other Great Powers object, which apparently they do not. We have governed this Republic since 1815.

December 24th.—General Burnside was heavily beaten at Fredericksburg on the 13th, losing 12,500 men, while the Confederates had only 4,200 casualties.

1863

March 3rd.—The Polish insurrection is getting serious, and is partly the outcome of bad government. The latest stroke of Russian policy was to make use of the conscription to scoop up all the unemployed and revolutionary young men and include them amongst the annual quota of 2,000 recruits. The Governor, the Grand-Duke Constantine, had made no great secret of this intention, so the Poles were more or less ready to revolt, and they have defeated and driven away the Russian troops. The French Emperor has written to the Czar advising him to give the Poles a more liberal

form of government, but Russia knows very well that France cannot actively support the rebels. Meanwhile Prussia has posted a large force on her Polish frontier, and has made a convention with Russia whereby she allows Russian troops to pass through her territory and agrees to give up any fugitive Poles.

The Americans have refused the French mediation offered by Louis Napoleon, who is much annoyed with them.

March 6th.—The Queen, on the advice of her Ministers, declined the throne of Greece for Prince Alfred, and it was then offered to Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who has no children, and whose Duchy, by a family arrangement, goes to Prince Alfred at his death. The Duke was eager to accept the Greek throne, but did not want to part with his Duchy. The Queen objected to his holding both, and King Leopold of the Belgians objected to Prince Alfred getting Saxe-Coburg-Gotha so soon, if Duke Ernest gave it up. Finally Duke Ernest withdrew from the contest, and, authorized by Greece, we have offered the Crown to Prince George of Sleswig, &c., &c., &c., brother of Princess Alexandra. He has accepted it, and will be proclaimed King at the end of the month.

March 7th.—The Princess Alexandra arrived at Windsor Castle this evening, and the decorations and illuminations of the town were very effective.

March 10th.—The Prince of Wales was married in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, to-day.

March 21st.—The Poles have been defeated, and,

with their Dictator, Langiewicz, have surrendered to the Austrian cavalry.

April 30th.—The contributions from every source (including the United States) towards the starving cotton-spinners total two and three-quarter millions, and this sum is being distributed by local organizations acting under Lord Derby's Central Committee.

May 25th.—Burnside was superseded by Hooker on January 26th. On April 28th Hooker moved upon Richmond from his position covering Washington against the Confederates at Fredericksburg. After six days of fighting, ending at Chancellorsville on May 5th, Hooker was defeated, losing 7,000 men. The Confederates had 12,000 casualties; but the worst blow to them is that "Stonewall" Jackson was accidentally mortally wounded by his own men, and died on the 9th. His death will be a serious loss to General Lee and the Southern cause.

Nevertheless, the Confederates are now hopeful of peace, for there is a strong party in the North, much opposed to continuing this costly and bloody war.

June 21st.—Puebla has been taken by the French, who are now marching upon Mexico City.

July 15th.—General Lee, having crossed the Potomac and invaded Maryland, was defeated by General Meade in a three-day battle at Gettysburg, losing 37,000 men, and he has retreated over the Potomac.

Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, has been captured

by the Federals, and 30,000 Confederates laid down their arms.

October 25th.—My health still not permitting of my return to Foreign Office work, I have resigned, and taken a pension.

November 6th.—The Emperor Napoleon III, in his speech at the opening of the Assemblée, said that he is calling for a Congress to settle the affairs of Poland and other nationalities, although he is not prepared to go to war at present in Polish behalf. He also said the treaties of 1815 are obsolete.

November 16th.—King Frederick VII of Denmark died yesterday, and the father of the Princess of Wales succeeds him, according to the treaty of December 30, 1852.

November 26th.—The circular from the French Emperor, calling upon the Powers to assemble a Congress has gone round, and Victor Emmanuel, who scents "pickings" in the new map of Europe designed by the Emperor, has accepted. Earl Russell has peremptorily refused for England.

November 30th.—The King of Denmark, confirming an Ordinance of March last, has conferred a constitution upon Holstein, which gives the Duchy complete self-government, but incorporates it with Denmark, although the latter only holds it under German supervision. Against this the German Confederation (which holds the opinion that where there is a German there is Germany), Austria, and Prussia have protested.

The succession to the Danish Crown and the Grand-Duchy of Holstein was arranged in

December, 1852, at a Conference of the Great Powers by a treaty, which was to last for eleven years. Denmark had bought off a German claimant to Holstein, Duke Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, but his son Frederick refused to be bound by his father's bargain, and he is now supported by most of the States in Germany as well as by those Germans who are opposed to Bismarck's apparent policy. However, Prussia is opposed to Frederick.

December 3rd.—Denmark having refused to withdraw the Holstein Constitution, Austria and Prussia threaten to coerce her by a "Federal Execution."

December 10th.—The Confederates have been badly beaten by General Grant at Look-Out Mountain, and lost sixty guns.

December 25th.—I have disposed of all my rights in the "Foreign Office List" to Edward Hertslet.

1864

January 1st.—Sleswig has offered to provide 35,000 men in aid of Denmark should Federal troops invade the Duchy.

Saxon and Hanoverian troops entered Holstein on December 30th.

January 27th.—The Federal troops have installed Duke Frederick at Kiel.

Bismarck, in order to put aside the German States, has induced Austria to join Prussia in demanding from Denmark the fulfilment of the treaty of 1852; that is, the withdrawal of the

Holstein Ordinance. This is a bad move for Austria, for it will annoy the States, and so lessen her hold over them.

Denmark having refused compliance, the Austrian and Prussian Envoys left Copenhagen on the 18th, and the allied troops are advancing upon Sleswig.

Lords Palmerston and Russell are in favour of Denmark, and so are the French, but the Queen backs up Prussia, for family reasons, in the hope that her son-in-law may in time become the ruler of all Germany.

January 31st.—In England last month 500,000 people were in receipt of relief, and the weekly loss of wages caused by the stoppage of the cotton mills is £168,000.

Japanese affairs seem to be settled at last, and the country is to be opened up to foreigners.

Owing to the hostility of the natives the British Legation had to be moved to Yokohama, and on September 14, 1862, Mr. Richardson was brutally murdered by the retainers of the Prince of Satsuma. Our Minister demanded as compensation £100,000 from the Tycoon and £25,000 from Satsuma. The Tycoon paid up at once, with apologies, but the haughty Daimio refused to comply. The Japanese closed all the ports, and our fleet had to be sent to Kagoshima, the chief town of the Satsuma clan. Having seized some Japanese vessels, our fleet was fired upon by the shore batteries, whereupon a bombardment was opened upon the palace, which, with unfortunately the greater part of the town, was burned. Thereupon the Prince gave in,

paid his fine, and the ports, except Yokohama, have now been reopened.

February 3rd.—The Prussians have invaded Sleswig, which has been evacuated by the Danes.

February 5th.—The Austrians were defeated by the Danes on the 3rd, losing 700 men, but since then they have had a victory.

February 10th.—There has been heavy fighting at Flensburg, in which the Austrians sustained 1,000 casualties.

February 11th.—I was at Hastings to-day, and saw the Prince and Princess of Wales arrive for a stay at the Victoria Hotel.

The Duke of Augustenburg has been proclaimed in Holstein and Sleswig, without any objection being raised by either Austria or Prussia.

February 20th.—The Danes have retired to Düppel and the Island of Alsen.

Lord Russell has told M. de Bille, the Danish Ambassador, that under no circumstances would we go to war on behalf of Denmark, not even if the Germans were to take Copenhagen!

The Princess of Wales must think she has thrown in her lot with a pleasant and helpful people!

February 24th.—At an attack on Düppel the Prussians got the worst of it.

March 1st.—There is to be a Conference about Danish affairs.

March 24th.—The Archduke Maximilian of Austria is to be made Emperor of Mexico, and to have French support. The Americans have been

protesting all along against the French invasion, and will be anything but acquiescent when they have finished their Civil War.

April 16th.—Garibaldi has arrived in England, and will, of course, be made a tremendous “lion.”

April 20th.—The fortress of Düppel has been taken by the Allies.

April 29th.—The Conference about Denmark assembled yesterday, and an armistice for one month has been arranged.

May 12th.—This evening I went to Lady Granville’s party.

May 13th.—There was a large family party to-night at Devonshire House to meet Miss Lucy Lyttelton, whom Lord Frederick Cavendish is going to marry.

May 14th.—The real business of the Conference began on the 12th.

June 21st.—The Federal battleship *Kearsage* has sunk the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* off Cherbourg. Many of the crew were taken to Southampton by a yacht, and the Federals saved the remainder.

[By the *Alabama* Arbitration Commission at Geneva, in June, 1872, the damages caused by the *Alabama* and other English vessels in the Confederate service, were assessed against us as being £1,100,000.]

June 24th.—The Duke of Devonshire gave a ball to-night for the Prince and Princess of Wales, and I thought it a very good one.

June 27th.—The Conference is over, and Den-

mark is left to work out her own salvation—or damnation.

July 1st.—I hear that Prussia and Austria claimed that as they were at war with Denmark, all their treaties with her had lapsed, but the neutral Powers at the Conference disputed this. Lord Russell proposed that Denmark should give up Holstein, Lauenberg, and the southern, or most German, part of Sleswig, and in addition to this Prussia demanded the rest of Sleswig.

These demands Denmark refused to accede to, and hostilities were resumed on June 25th. But the case of the Danes is hopeless against two such big bullies as Austria and Prussia, and the Duchies must fall to Germany.

July 3rd.—I find the noise of London so distressing that I must avoid the Metropolis as much as possible in future and live in the country.

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